DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 043 443 RC 004 745

TITLE	Migrant Research Project. Annual Report-1969.
INSTITUTION	Manpower Evaluation and Development Inst., Washington, D. C.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	31 Jan 70
NOTE	47p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Demography, Economic Factors, Federal Legislation, *Federal Programs, *Migrant Health Services, *Migrant Housing, *Migrant Workers, *Nutrition, Surveys, Wages, Welfare

ABSTRACT

The purposes of this project, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, were (1) to provide emergency food and medical services funds to needy migrants, (2) to accumulate and document facts which establish the existence of practices and attitudes that exclude migrants from adequate participation in Federal food and relevant programs, and (3) to provide technical assistance to migrant groups and to governmental agencies in an effort to improve the provision of needed service to migrants. Personal interviews, questionnaires, and special projects such as conferences were used to collect the data for this project. The project report presents discussions of problems such as proper medical service, nutrition, and housing for the migrant worker. Suggestions and recommendations are included for solving these problems. The total number of migrants served by the project was 3,078 families in 18 states from December of 1968 through September of 1969. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (LS)

ED043443

RECEIVED
OCT 29 1970
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT

Annual Report—1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

MANPOWER EVALUATION & DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE
Migrant Research Project (M.E.D.I.) 202 387-1028
1329 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20036
Miss Margaret Garrity, Director

January 31, 1970

RC004745

Table of Contents

Introduction I

Methodology I

Demographic Characteristics II

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations III

Part I

Chapter I — Perspective 1

Chapter II — Lack of Food as it Relates to Lack of Income 4

Chapter III — Sources of Income: Wages, Bonus—Impact of Mechanization 5

Chapter IV — Housing: A Fringe Benefit of Employment 11

Part II

Chapter V — Administrative Barriers to Welfare 16

Part III

Chapter VI — Negotiation for Change 20

Part IV — Special Studies

Chapter VII — Worker Survey Sampling 23

Chapter VIII — Special Wisconsin Project 27

Chapter IX — South Texas Survey 30

Chapter X — Special Housing Survey 34

Chapter XI — Diary of Sugar Beet Worker 37

Part V

Acknowledgments 42

The project reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. The opinions expressed herein are those of the author* and should not be construed as representing the opinions or policy of any agency of the United States Government.

(Photos from "Child of Hope" by Shirley M. Sandage, and Jo Moore Stewart have been made available for publishing in this report through the courtesy of A. S. Barnes Publishing Company, Cranbury, New Jersey.)

*Migrant Research Project

INTRODUCTION

The Migrant Research Project of the Manpower Evaluation and Development Institute was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1968 under two grants. One, from the Office of Emergency Food and Medical Services was to provide emergency food and medical services to needy migrants. The other, funded by the Office of Demonstration and Research, was to determine whether migrant agricultural and seasonal farmworkers were discriminated against by public agencies delivering services to the poor. If they were, we were to determine the extent and nature of that discrimination, and to propose and effect solutions which would serve to correct the problems of hunger and malnutrition among migrants. A small amount of money for legal advocacy was available.

Therefore, the project saw as its mandate, a three-fold purpose:

a) to provide Emergency Food and Medical Services funds to needy migrants.
b) to accumulate and document facts which establish the existence of practices and attitudes which exclude migrants from adequate participation in federal food and other relevant programs.
c) to provide technical assistance to migrant groups and to government agencies in an effort to improve the provision of needed service to migrants.

Methods were selected to gather current and unbiased information seeking to determine whether migrants generally are excluded from participation in federal programs established to assist other American citizens.

The result of the scope and approach of this project has provided, what we believe, is valuable information and insight into the nature of the problem of the migrant worker. In view of this, the purpose of this report is not, in all instances, to provide clear reasons for the necessity of legal remedies to the plight of the migrant; but rather through the composite of information, provide a framework for further discussion and investigation of the many issues which cloud the lives of those who labor in the fields of this Nation. We acknowledge the immense complexity of the issues and problems here raised. We also acknowledge the need for all citizens to find solutions to the social and economic ills that plague the lives of those affected by migrancy. It is hoped this report may serve as a tool to more clearly define the problem and point to solutions.

METHODOLOGY

The Migrant Research Project was funded as a national program with a partial mandate to fulfill emergency requests for food when there was no alternate solution. Therefore, it was necessary to so structure the agency to cope with the life pattern of the migrant and the vocation he pursues. Secondly, it was necessary to collect information from and about the public agencies responsible for implementing programs from which he was to benefit, at the federal, state, and local level.

This double duty made it necessary to develop a distribution system by which the agency could have both a strong and informed base for information and advocacy and maintain available field contacts with migrants. The migrants and their representative organizations, e.g. indigenous groups and Office of Economic Opportunity, Title III-B grantees were to distribute funds, respond to the need for local advocacy, and to gather data. Consequently, the agency developed a methodology of funding sub-contractees, hereinafter referred to as "grantees." Thirty-two such grantees were funded by The Migrant Research Project to handle emergency food money and, with the assistance of the Migrant Research Project staff, gather data to be used as the basis of this report. Two other grantees were funded for special projects; one medical, the other technical assistance to a producers' cooperative. In addition, a study was made of official state welfare plans and food plans to determine whether or not they contained sufficient flexibility to meet the emergency needs of migrants, and whether the state and local officials were using this flexibility to the best advantage of hungry migrants. In conjunction with this, the Migrant Research Project staff studied the federal laws and regulations pertaining to these programs to determine the amount of flexibility possible at the state and county level to administer to the needs of migrants.

Laws pertaining to employment conditions which directly contribute to hunger problems of migrant workers were studied to determine the extent to which migrant workers were protected by these laws, and whether the laws were implemented. These included the Employment Security Act, the Crew Leader Registration Act, and the Fair Labor Standards Act. Other laws, such as the Workmen's Compensation Acts of several states, were studied to determine the exclusionary practices of such laws as far as agricultural workers are concerned.

Field data was collected in three ways: 1) Personal interviews with migrants by Migrant Research Project staff or delegate agency staff, 2) Questionnaires, correspondence, or special projects with state public agencies and/or grantees; and 3) Special projects or conferences with federal agencies or congressional leaders.

It was clear from the beginning that providing food services to needy migrants in emergency situations offered a potential for information gathering that could be important in determining the cause of the poverty of migrants. Thus, the Migrant Research Project in so expanding and developing this potential has demonstrated the ability to be effective as a catalyst agency and as a coordinator while successfully aiding migrants to seek and secure needed food services.

The information and data gathered by The Migrant Research Project is large in volume. While no claim is made to present these facts as detailed in-depth research, enough documentation exists to present the broad pattern of problems that migrant workers face in every state. Consequently, on the basis of the data collected, it is possible to make recommendation that certain

changes must take place in the legislative process as it affects migrants, and in the enforcement of laws to alter the economic and social pattern of their lives. The statistics presented are based on a sampling of migrants who, by reason of an emergency, requested food assistance, and who, in many cases, were served in a pressed time situation. The results, therefore, are subject to errors of response and reporting as well as being subject to sampling variability.

The total number of migrants served by the Migrant Research Project, reflected in this report, was 3,078 families. This represents 20,949 individuals fed for a total of 192,007 people days,[1] or an average of 9 days per person. Cost per person averaged 53 cents per day. The assistance was given in 18 states, 5 home-base states and 11 stream states. The time during which the assistance was granted was from December 1968 through September 1969—10 months.

(1)—People days—individuals fed X days fed.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The demographic characteristics of the group are reflected in the following tables. Please note the tables do not include total figures from Colorado, Michigan, Missouri, northern Utah, Indiana or California. Submission of material from these grantees was received too late for tabulation or it was in an incomplete state.

TABLE I
Annual Family Income

	Over $3000	$2500-$3000	$1500-$2500	Below $1500
	308	292	751	2720
%	8%	7%	18%	67%

TABLE II
Ages of Family Members

	0-5	6-15	16-21	22-44	45-64	65+	Total
	4440	7317	2910	3977	1803	491	20,949
%	21%	35%	14%	19%	10%	2%	101%

It is interesting to note more than one-half of the individuals fed through the Migrant Research Project program were children under the age of 15 years.

TABLE III
Family Size

	1	2-4	5-7	8-10	11-13	14+	Total
	372	1080	1193	900	379	148	4070
%	9%	27%	29%	22%	9%	4%	100%

56%
35%
65%
64%

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Migrant Research Project, over the past year, has documented and disseminated facts regarding those practices which exclude migrants from adequate participation in federal food and other relevant programs. **The major conclusion from this study is that migrant workers are administratively kept from such participation by exclusionary clauses in federal and state labor, social, and other protective legislation.**

Special Provisions Needed

Insistence of government, at all levels, that proper implementation of legislation must be developed to the advantage of the majority of its voting citizens insures that the "voiceless" migrant will have little consideration in the passage of such laws. Further, regulatory agencies charged with administration of such programs are equally as zealous in the guidelines they develop to assure careful "implementation of the act" in accordance with the "intent of Congress." Narrow interpretation and bureaucratic red tape is a major result.

Governmental agencies implementing labor, welfare, and other programs must be accountable for following the statutes that created these agencies. **They must develop fair and equitable rules and procedures to carry out the intent of the law. They must also provide fair procedures to persons seeking redress from the agency.**

Careful analysis of the problems of migrancy both to the workers and to those communities who utilize the services of migrants as a part of the community's economic life, must be related to the ability of both governmental and private agencies to accomodate such workers to the benefits of community life. Of necessity, this requires an extraordinary amount of coordination of services and common goals between those agencies able to control and deliver such benefits. **Accomplishment of such coordination can only be achieved with careful planning of goals, staffing patterns, and resources of the entire community.** Critical to migrants receiving services is the attitude of community leaders and the accomodation they are willing to allow to the non-resident migrant. Significant data are contained in the pages of this report as a result of the special projects conducted by the Migrant Research Project to have demonstrated that such coordination and common goals do not exist nor are they likely to occur.

Therefore, it is the second conclusion of this report that it is not possible to incorporate citizens of a mobile nature into present structures of welfare assistance designed to meet the needs of a resident population. The reasons for this are more fully developed under the section entitled, **Administrative Barriers to Welfare.**

Agencies distributing food stamps or commodities should make **special provisions to expedite the servicing of migrants.** Specific steps to be taken should include evening office hours, utilization of bilingual staff or volunteers, and the vending of food stamps on a daily basis rather than only on certain days.

Commodity counties should make provisions to have additional food stuffs available during the harvest season. Furthermore, supplemental direct relief monies should be made available to provide supplemental but essential foods not available with commodities.

Necessity for National Standards

Since it is incumbent, in a democratic society, for the government to provide equally for the needs of all of its citizens, it becomes essential for government to establish programs that will assure equal treatment for the mobile agricultural migrant. However, those who argue that all citizens must be served under identical regulatory procedures should bear in mind the small proportion of migrants who are able to receive assistance under the exclusionary regulations presently in effect. Equal consideration under the law is impossible when the regulations enacted do not consider the inability of the mobile migrant applicant to comply with eligibility requirements under the conditions which are basic in his life style and employment pattern.

Each of the states of this Nation develops guidelines and receives approval for the federally assisted welfare programs they administer. This not only allows for, but insures there will be variances in the eligibility requirements and the benefits of such plans. A migrant worker must make application for assistance in each county where he travels and finds himself in need of welfare services. Not only does his lack of knowledge concerning the variances in eligibility requirements and benefits in the state plans compound his confusion, but generally he cannot furnish the variety of documents that are necessary.

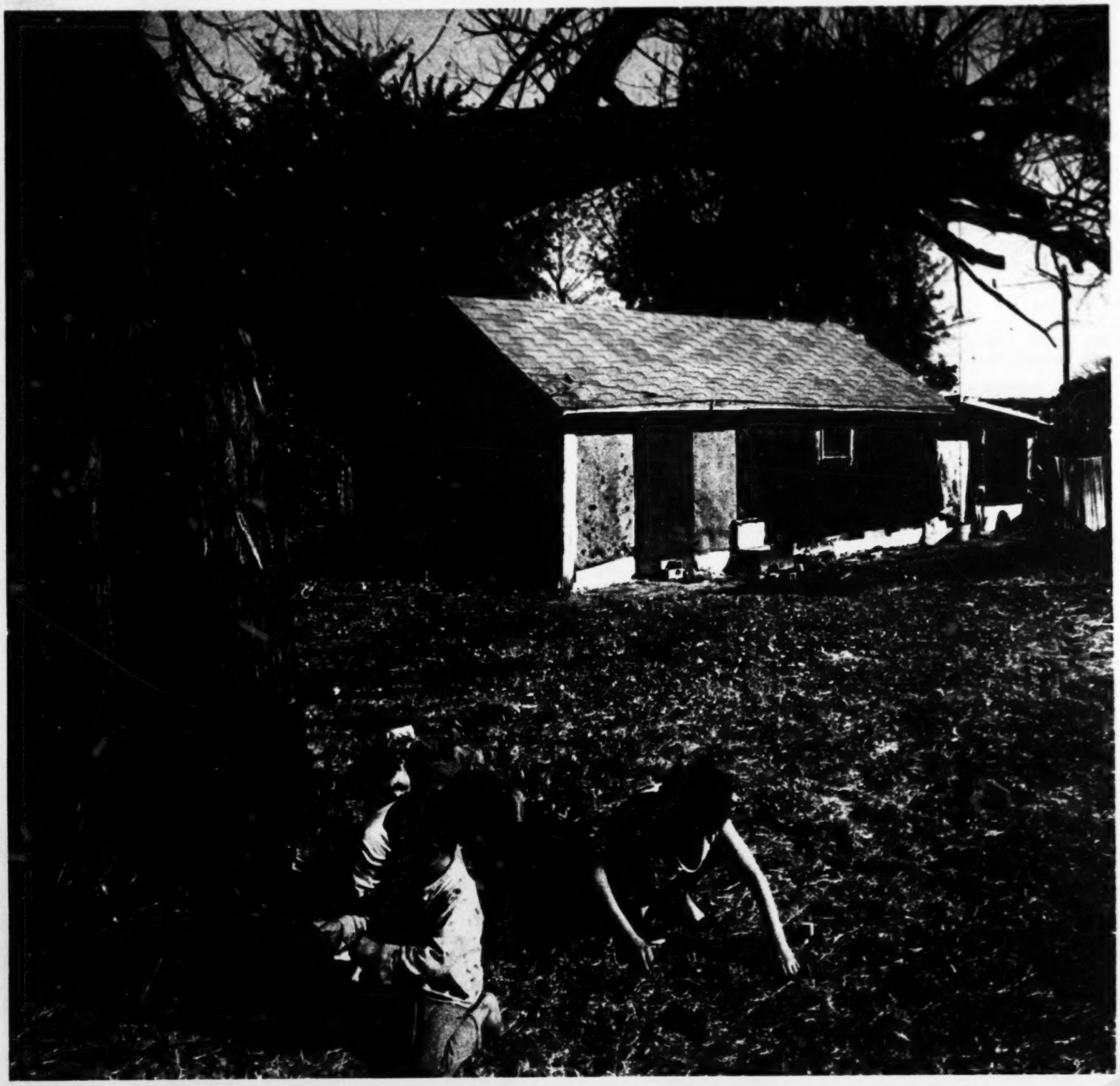
Because of the combination of these factors, the Migrant Research Project recommends the enactment of a National certification process for migrant agricultural workers which will provide for national eligibility certification in the homebase state. It should be based upon the applicant's annual wage on a self-certification basis. Once eligibility is determined, the migrant worker should be issued a card which shall be honored for services at all welfare offices in the United States for all Federally assisted programs during that period of time such eligibility is declared to be in effect. The costs to the individual counties for such assistance should be 100% reimbursed by the federal government. Eligibility should be determined during the off-season and be established for one-year periods of time.

If it is deemed necessary and proper, random checks to determine the percent of accuracy achieved on the self-certification basis can be made through the United States Social Security Administration which should have an accurate recording of all earnings. It should be pointed out, however, that the cost/time factor of the lengthy verification procedure required to certify migrants under the present system far outweighs the cost of services for that small percentage of migrant workers who might receive services for which they were technically ineligible. This is particularly true in food programs.

Responsibilities of the Department of Agriculture

It is the final conclusion of this report that the United States Congress must impartially and fairly consider the needs of all of its citizenry; and acting in its behalf, make sweeping legislative changes in programs and laws at the federal level which will create a proper, efficient and profitable method of maintaining the agricultural economy, provide for equal protection of the civil and civic rights of the agricultural migrant workers, and, thereafter, insist upon fair and just implementation

of such laws. The United States Department of Agriculture has demonstrated an ability to serve the need of the farm owner, whether large or small, in a variety of programs which protect his land, his crops, and his income. There can be no question about the high priority the Congress has placed on the farm programs of the various administrations. It is time for the farm worker to be brought under the same protection of the income supplement programs of the United States Department of Agriculture as are established to the benefit of the farm owner. It is our recommendation that the vast resources of staff and budget of the United States Department of Agriculture be charged specifically by the United States Congress with gaining for the farm workers a more equitable share of the benefits of the vast numbers of programs available to the farm owner.



—From CHILD OF HOPE.

PART I

Chapter I— PERSPECTIVE

A common focus on migrancy is difficult to establish. The Migrant Research Project has utilized simple information gathering techniques in the three major stream areas to enable us to describe a family representative of the migrant population.

The Migrant Research Project migrant population presented here is a composite of the black migrant in the East and the Mexican-American migrant of the Mid-West and Southwest areas. Therefore the reader is cautioned to keep in mind that this population is a composite of two ethnic groups facing similar problems, that cut across cultural lines. This is possible because agricultural migrancy is a vocation, not a cultural group. The problems and difficulties presented apply to all streams and in all geographic areas. Thus it matters little where the field work is performed, the facts of the employment, as revealed in the Migrant Research Project surveys are constant and the same. No work was done by the Migrant Research Project in the predominately Appalachian white migrant areas.

The typical agricultural migrant applying for Migrant Research Project emergency food assistance was traveling in a crew with a family of averaging 6.7 total persons. He wintered in the home-base states of Texas, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana. He was largely unemployed during the winter months, particularly if his homebase area was the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. He often tried to seek work as an unskilled laborer in industry, just as his summer grower employer in agriculture in the north, often seeks and is employed in industry during the winter. Since the mechanization of cotton has become almost totally complete, more of his family group and his friends have begun migrating across state lines into other winter homebase states.

The constant battle to maintain his family has forced the migrant into a debt economy from which he never emerges. Loans against future earnings are necessary and sought from every possible source. This complicates even the small bargaining power he may have for gaining better working conditions and better wages —a bargaining power which is almost solely his wits.

A low educational level and lack of knowledge of not only assistance resources but his right to such assistance requires concerted outreach effort on the part of the welfare and health agencies. This effort is almost never made nor is it administratively planned for by federal, state, or county agencies with such responsibility. Understaffed and underbudgeted local agencies use the variances in state plans and durational residency requirements as justification for eliminating migrants from desperately needed assistance. In this way, the government reinforces the debt economy status of the Migrant and firmly establishes his peonage.

Entering the Stream

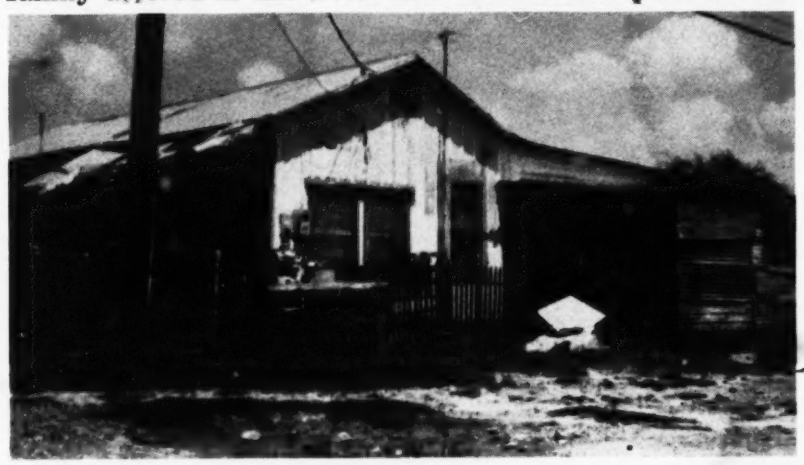
Our typical migrant family left the home-base area in early spring. He was recruited to work in the north without any type of legitimate contract which spells out wages, working conditions, fringe benefits, etc. Indeed, 85 percent of the migrants studied by the M.R.P. worker survey form were not told when recruited what their wages would be for the work for which they were recruited. Seventy-nine percent of the migrants surveyed had not signed a contract. Of those 21 percent who had signed any papers, 79 percent had not received a copy. During recruitment, our MRP migrant was often encouraged by the recruiter, vying to fill work orders from the north on a per capita fee basis, to list as workers as many family members as possible. Loans made to cover travel expenses are made on a per worker basis. Food for the entire family must come from this loan. Thus there is considerable incentive to list children 10 years of age and sometimes younger as workers.

An average travel pattern in the Mid-West stream—from Crystal City, Texas to Washura County, Wisconsin for pickle and cucumber harvests, is an 1800 mile drive. At $ .11 per mile operating costs[2], the migrant needs $198.00 to operate an automobile, his usual means of transportation.

Taking into consideration the cost of transportation plus the additional necessary costs of food and lodging on the way, the migrant worker has spent as much money trying to get to his place of employment as he may make for the first several weeks of the season. If the crop is poor, he is left with very little or, more often, no money with which to purchase food.

Debt Economy for the Workers

On the average, the Migrant Research Project typical family arrived in the work area three weeks prior to the



TEXAS HOME

(2)—An analysis of automobile operating costs by the Bureau of Public Roads of the Federal Highway Administration, U.S. Dept. of Transportation is based on a $2,800 car driven 100,000 miles over a 10 year period.*

- 2.8c original vehicle cost depreciation
- 2.1c maintenance, accessories, tires and parts
- 1.7c gas and oil (excluding taxes)
- 1.8c garage parking, tolls
- 1.4c insurance
- 1.2c state and federal taxes

(*November, 1968. Some costs have increased since this report was prepared in January, 1968, but the increases are not yet deemed to be sufficient to warrant making and issuing a new report.)

time field work was available. Again, the necessity for food forced the family deeper into debt and further loans against future earnings were obtained from the grower.[3]

At times, these were made in the form of grocery coupons which had to be redeemed in a specified store. Wage collection laws prohibiting this practice did not cover him as an agricultural worker, and thus, his limited freedom was further entailed by limiting the way in which his money could be spent to purchase food—often at inflated prices. He could not purchase food stamps where his purchasing power would be greater, better enabling him to nourish his family. Nor could he buy fuel to warm them and guard against the upper respiratory infections which are chronic with his family. Small wonder his newborn child died at a rate of 200% higher than for the rest of the population or that he, himself, has a life expectancy of 49 years.[4]

The other major factor in the life of the Migrant Research Project migrant family is "hope for a good season." It is this hope which propels him into the stream and makes him vulnerable to the verbal promises of the recruiter.

Once the typical Migrant Research Project migrant family began work, need for rapid income and the grower's need for immediate field work meshed. All family members went into the fields. There was little evidence of the willingness of public educational agencies to enforce school attendance laws even though the children in the Migrant Research Project family were on the average two grades behind normal for their age level. Overcrowded classrooms, language difficulties, transportation problems and shortness of the term were the major reason for this lack of interest.

Most public school agencies held the belief that the migrant children completed their school year in Texas before coming north; thus, parents, employers, and public school systems implement the child labor recruitment that takes place in the homebase.

Wage Difficulties

Field and work conditions brought about by weather and the use of herbicides are the major cause of the wage and hour complaints expressed by the migrant, but rarely filed formally. To further insure the availability of ready labor; and as a condition of employment, the Migrant Research Project migrant family generally agreed verbally to a "hold-back" of a percentage of his weekly earnings which is referred to as a "bonus." This money is paid him at the end of the season if he "satisfactorily" completes his work and moves from field to field as requested. "Satisfactory completion of work" is interpreted to mean that the migrant must remain for as little as nine or ten hours work per week, or until the grower has no further need of hand labor.

1968 MERIT CARD

Graciano Espinoza with 9 workers
Head of Family or Group
Employed by Amos Larson
Stephen, Minn.
An American Crystal Sugar Co. Grower in the Factory District.
Social Security No. 461 — 48 — 1245
Clearance Paper 1967 1-172 1968 1-351
Ronald M. Faulkner
Texas Office Manager

In addition, regular deductions from wages were made to insure repayment of past loans. This diminished the availability of ready cash with which to purchase food stamps, food, or medical treatment, let alone the transportation needed to seek other work. At times, a migrant negotiated for an early release in order to keep commitments to growers in other areas. When not successful, he was sometimes forced to leave without all the wages he felt were due him to avoid being "blacklisted" at the next worksite which would mean not only loss of work this crop season, but in ensuing years as well. If the crew leader or recruiter had committed him to another worksite, he felt compelled to honor this non-existent work contract. Since generally he received no payslips of weekly earnings with itemized deductions, there is no proof of any descrepancy in wages earned and received.

Altogether our typical migrant family had twelve employers during the year and traveled through at least eight states. Since the summer of 1969 was a disaster in the crops, he had little to show for his summer's earnings, and returned to Texas hungry, without resources, a victim of administrative structure and exclusion from the legislative processes. His average annual wage was less than $1500.

It should be stressed that the above circumstances are his everyday facts of life not experienced piece-meal in several areas, but wherever our Migrant Research Project migrant traveled. We shall deal with some of the many difficulties he experiences in the following sections of this report, and make an attempt to clarify from our research, the many conditions and structures which collectively insures that these problems do and will continue to exist. The recommendations based upon our study may prove startling to all who strive to alleviate these conditions under the present structure of government. We hope they will receive careful study and consideration.

(3)—The majority of migrants who received MRP food assistance in the stream states had not previously applied to public welfare assistance offices for certification for food programs. The reasons for this are not clear nor was MRP able to gather sufficient documentation to draw definite conclusions. A major difficulty was the requirement for verification of income. Another contributor appeared to be lack of out-reach personnel in public assistance offices for there to be serious effort to extend services to migrant labor camps. However, it must be said that when such out-reach did occur, whether it was provided through the welfare office or from an outside agency; and when the migrant worker was able to provide sufficient documentation so as to prove eligibility, the majority of workers who did apply for food programs did receive such assistance.

(4)—U.S. Public Health Service—Migrant Health Division. (Although all of the migrant families requesting emergency food assistance met the income eligibility standards to receive public welfare assistance, only 495 actually received such help. This was either Aid to Dependent Children or Social Security in most instances. A total of 2,198 families applied for welfare assistance. The principal reason given for denying general welfare assistance upon application was residency, yet the Migrant Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity found 12% of the migrant population to be malnourished.)

Chapter II

LACK OF FOOD AS IT RELATES TO LACK OF INCOME

The serious problem of malnutrition and nutritional deficiency in the United States has not limited itself only to to the poor, but has demonstrated itself to be a problem of the affluent as well. Consequently, health educators and nutritionists have made a strong case for the need of effective education programs. Food additives and concentrated snack items have appeared on the market and much attention has been given to publicizing the appalling nutritional problems that exist.

The relationship of family income to malnutrition, while not clearly demonstrated, must be basic to any argument in support of food programs. Thus, poverty as a basic cause of malnutrition among migrant workers in an assumption of this report.

To argue this supposition, the Migrant Research Project entered into an agreement with the Migrant Action Program of Iowa to determine the effect of income upon food purchases and diet of poor migrants.

MAP was able to utilize emergency food money provided by MRP in three ways: 1) to purchase federal food stamps to take advantage of their bonus purchasing power, 2) to augment food stamp purchases with direct purchase from retail outlets, 3) direct purchase from retail outlets in those places or at those times when food stamps and commodities were not available.

Using the direct purchase of food from retail outlets as the basis of the study, MAP arranged with grocery stores to accept food vouchers issued by MAP workers to needy migrants for purchase of food. No attempt was made to influence the items purchased nor was any health and nutrition education program attempted. The only condition placed upon purchase was that they be made for edible items under the terms of the Federal Food Stamp Act.

Grocers, in turn, agreed to bill Migrant Action Program and to supply itemized lists of food items purchased by the migrants.

MAP later reported that "even with the food stamp program, many families simply cannot afford an adequate diet. Furthermore, many families cannot... get certified for the food stamp program or cannot afford to purchase stamps."

To be eligible for participation in the project, a migrant had to meet the Office of Economic Opportunity guidelines as defined by the Migrant Division of OEO. Emergencies which generated the assistance were defined as "including periods of unemployment when the family lacked sufficient money to purchase food stamps or when emergency medical situations arose." No attempt was made to document classification of purchased food items when resources other than MRP funds were the major source of food purchased, or when food was purchased with food stamps. This will be picked up in the coming year.

Purchases under the MRP contract totaled 310, serving a total of 1,906 individuals for an average family size of 6.1 members. The average cost per individual served was $ .57 per days. Of the $12,942 total food outlet, twenty-two percent was for the purchase of food stamps, and seventy-eight percent was for the purchase of food at a retail outlet. The latter represents the basis for the argument herein presented.

Total amount expended by MAP for direct purchase was $10,103.

Frequency of items purchased by migrants in the basic food classifications were as follows:

Meats	22.0%
Milk Products	12.6%
Cereals	19.8%
Vegetables	17.0%
Fruits	11.6%
Other	17.0%

On the basis of the above study, it can be clearly demonstrated that the percentage of income available for food purchase does effect the basic diet of an individual family. Thus, it can be concluded if a person's income falls below the index of poverty, either less expensive or less nutritious food will have to be purchased or other expenses reduced.

It is notable that when families received emergency food assistance this past summer, they purchased items which they normally cannot afford; particularly meats and fruits. The MAP report concluded; "Health education is important, but families must also be provided with enough assistance to make an adequate diet feasible."[6]

Thus, it can be demonstrated that income, rather than culture is the basic ingredient necessary to assure an adequate diet among migrant workers if the level of malnutrition is to be reduced.

MIGRANT RESEARCH PROJECT

(5)—Migrant Action Program, Iowa Report, 1969.

(6)—MAP annual report, 1969.

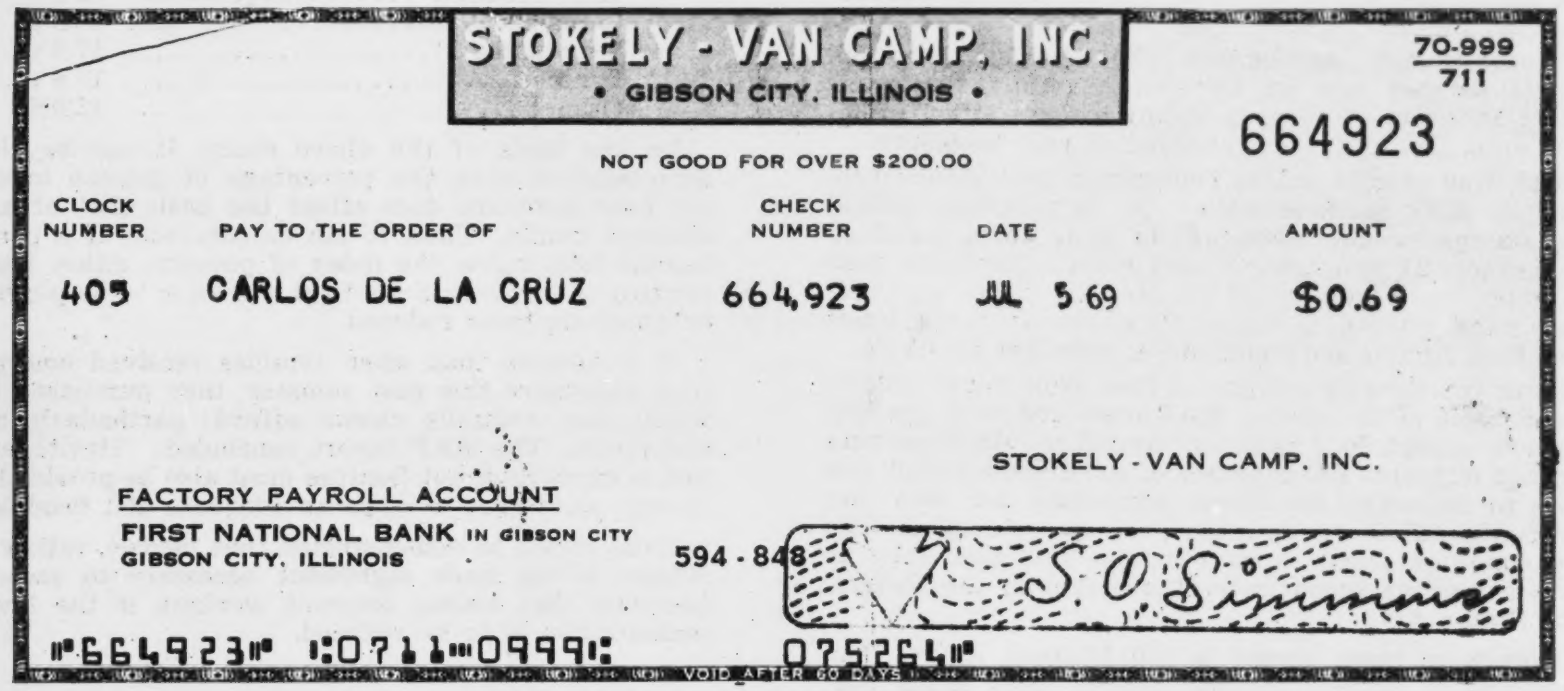
Chapter III

SOURCES OF INCOME: WAGES, BONUS - IMPACT OF MECHANIZATION

If we accept the validity of the necessity of income as the basic ingredient in combating malnutrition and lack of food among migrant workers, it becomes obvious that some method must be employed to raise the income level of those so afflicted. Other necessary functions, e.g. education in areas such as consumer protection, nutrition, preventive medicine, budgeting, etc., can only be effective when income for food purchase (or adequate food itself) is available.

WAGES

Migrant and seasonal farm workers report annual incomes substantially below other members of the nation's work force. Their claims have been upheld and documented by the United States Sub-committee on Migratory Labor which reported the average annual farm wage in 1966 for migratory workers to be $1,046; and astoundingly enough, a drop in annual farm wage



STOKELY - VAN CAMP, INC.
• GIBSON CITY, ILLINOIS •

70-999
711

664923

NOT GOOD FOR OVER $200.00

CLOCK NUMBER	PAY TO THE ORDER OF	CHECK NUMBER	DATE	AMOUNT
403	CARLOS DE LA CRUZ	664,923	JUL 5 69	$0.69

STOKELY-VAN CAMP, INC.

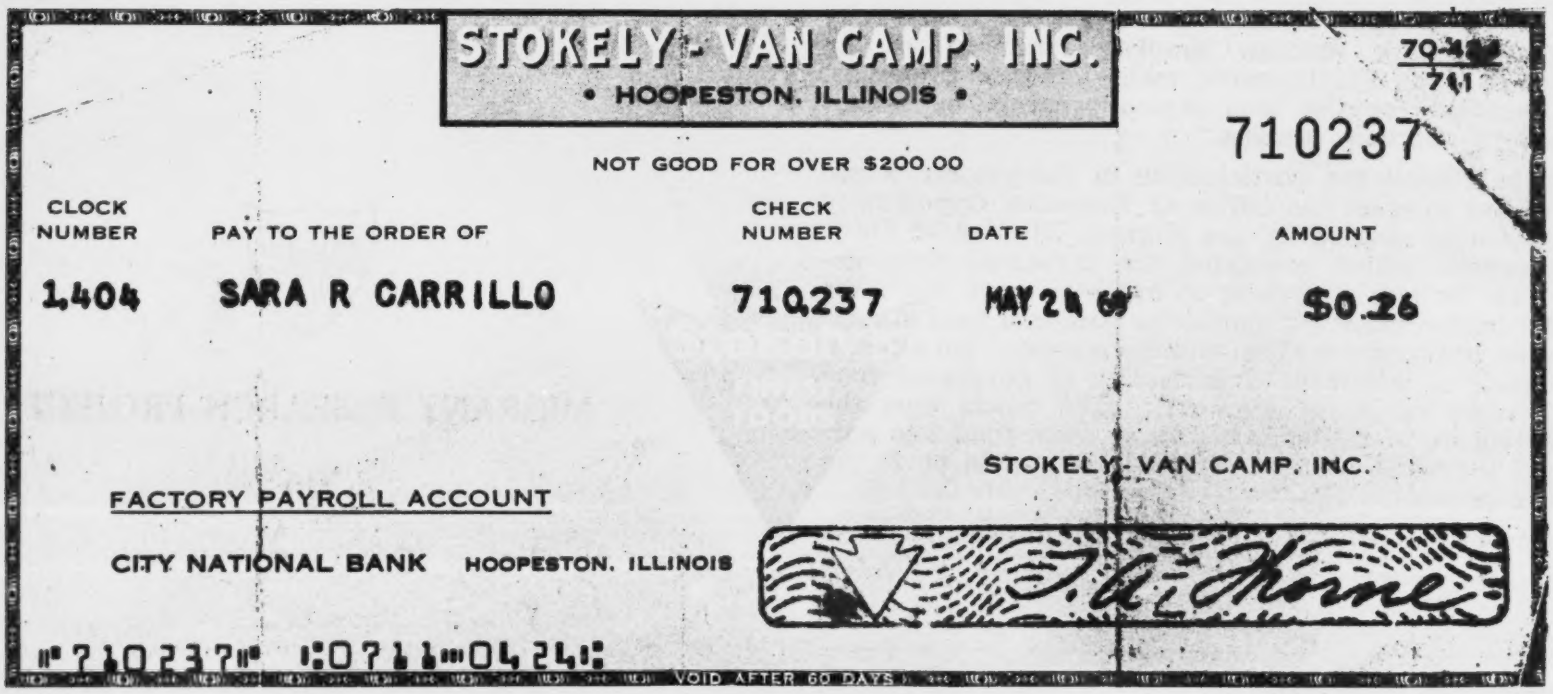
FACTORY PAYROLL ACCOUNT
FIRST NATIONAL BANK IN GIBSON CITY
GIBSON CITY, ILLINOIS

594-848

S. O. Simmons

⑈664923⑈ ⑆0711⑆0999⑆ 075264⑈

VOID AFTER 60 DAYS



STOKELY-VAN CAMP, INC.
• HOOPESTON, ILLINOIS •

70-999
711

710237

NOT GOOD FOR OVER $200.00

CLOCK NUMBER	PAY TO THE ORDER OF	CHECK NUMBER	DATE	AMOUNT
1,404	SARA R CARRILLO	710237	MAY 24 69	$0.26

STOKELY-VAN CAMP, INC.

FACTORY PAYROLL ACCOUNT

CITY NATIONAL BANK HOOPESTON, ILLINOIS

T. A. Thorne

⑈710237⑈ ⑆0711⑆0424⑆

VOID AFTER 60 DAYS

work in 1967 of $124 to $926 average annual wage.[7] This despite the fact the average daily wage earned rose from $10.80 to $10.85.[8] Those who worked outside of agriculture averaged around $2,100 of which $800 was from farm work.

By 1968, migrants whose activities were restricted to farm work earned only $1,018, still below the 1966 level![9] On the average, migrants earned only $1,562 from all sources in 1968. However, the 43% who obtained both farm and non-farm employment had a considerably higher average—$2,274 of which $1,491 was for non-farm work. The average hourly farm wage rate in July of 1969 was $1.58 (without board or room) which is an increase of only 9% over 1968. The Department of Labor in February of 1970 reported the cost of living rose 6.2% over the previous year.

During this same period of time, the median United States family income was $7,400. **Irregularity of migrant employment is one reason for the low annual wage.**

Negative Income for Migrant Workers

In spite of recent improvements in farm wage rates, which has risen from $1.14 an hour in 1965 to $1.58 an hour in July of 1969, there are still 13 states with average wages below the present federal minimum wage for agriculture. The low of $1 hourly average in South Carolina to over $1.70 in California, Connecticut, Nevada, and Washington must be related to the 120[10] total average number of days worked by those workers who did only farm work. The low average income on the basis of an average 8-hour day would vary from $1,360 to $2,312 as contrasted with the United States mediam income.

According to William H. Jones writing in the Washington Post on November 16, 1969, the median family income in the United States will approach $10,000 next year; an increase of 75% since 1960, but a rise of only 30% after allocation for inflation and taxes. If this same percentage is compared to the 15.6% increase in the migrant workers wage since 1959, it is easy to see the migrant worker is left with a negative income.

Under the Fair Standards Practices Act, farm workers are covered under a minimum wage of $1.30 per hour if the employer utilizes farm workers for a total of at least 500 man hours per quarter. **In 1966, only two percent of the farms using hired help in the United States were covered under this legislation, the rest were exempt from the Federal minimum wage. In 1967 only 35% of the farms were required to pay a minimum wage under the provisions.**[11]

In 1969, the composite hourly wage rate for migrant workers averaged $1.33 per hour; the January 1970 composite hourly rate was $1.50; up 9% from January of 1969.

Those who argue that raising the wage of farm workers will price food out of the market are ignorant of the percentages of the cost of the product through wages—for example, lemons cost 24 cents per pound; field cost are 0.6 to 1 cent per pound. Grapefruit, costing 8 to 10 cents apiece, cost the grower in field labor 2 to 4 cents.[12]

Irregularity of Employment—Need For Legislative Protection

While the above figures show that there was a 15.6% increase in the wages paid migrant farm workers between 1959 and 1968, the monetary gains made by this sector of our Nation's work force can be shown as virtually negligible when evaluated in light of several other factors.

The migrant worker still finds himself victim of an ever tightening availability of work. This is due to several factors. The two most important are irregularity of employment and the increase in mechanization of crops.

It is important to note that unemployment and irregularity of employment is the chief reason given by migrants for entering the stream. For example, the unemployment rate in January, 1970 in the Laredo, Texas area, was 10.8% of the total work force and was rising. The Texas Employment Commission attributed this "mainly to the continued inflow of migrant workers into the area." They went on to say, "By Mid-March the unemployed total should begin to subside as the outflow of migrant workers returning to their jobs in the north gets underway." **The hardships and lack of income suffered by migrants in the homebase states during the off-season increases the attractiveness and pre-supposed increased earnings in the north during the crop season.** However, the low wages in agriculture are not caused only by unemployment, irregularity of employment, mechanization, or the low-profit margin of individual growers as opposed to the larger employers. **The lack of legislation governing wages and working conditions, plus discriminatory practices cited in this report further diminish wages and the chance for a fair standard of living.**

It is interesting to note that 67% of the number of migrants requiring emergency food assistance under the MHP program in 1969 earned an annual wage of less than $1,500. (See charts **Introduction.**)

The MRP study also shows the largest percentage of migrants traveling in the stream did so in family group sizes of from 5 to 7 members. This was true in every region of the United States. Only in the Eastern region of the country did the project serve families larger than 17 members.

Due to the irregularity of the migrant's employment, it would seem logical that in time of unemployment, he would be covered by unemployment compensation as in all other major job classifications in private industry. Traditional excuses have kept the migrant from this important protection; this results in discriminatory exclusion from the law.

Rate for Sugar Beet Workers

Under the Sugar Beet Act, the Secretary of Labor is directed to set a fair and reasonable rate. He is authorized to make payments on the condition that, among others, all persons employed on the farm in the production, cultivation, or harvesting of sugar beets or sugar cane with respect to which an application for payment is made shall have been paid in full for all such work, and shall have paid wages, therefore, at rates not less than those that may be determined by the

---

(7)—1969 report of the Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor Report No. 91-83.

(8)—U.S. Department of Labor, Sept. 1967 & 1968.

(9)—Robert C. McElroy "The Hired Farm Working Force of 1968" Ag. Econ. Report No. 164.

(10)—U.S. Department of Agriculture, Sept. 1967 & 1968 pp. 53.

(11)—**Hired Farmworkers:** United States Department of Labor; Wage and Hours Public Contracts Divisions, 1968.

(12)—United States Department of Labor.

Secretary to be **fair and reasonable** after investigation and due notice and opportunity for public hearing.

The regulations for 1968 provided for payment to workers either on a minimum wage rate of $1.50 per hour, or on one of several piece rates per acre as specified for each of five different functions. The $1.50 hourly minimum wage was set for 1968 as a **fair and reasonable wage rate** based on evidence presented at hearings. However, the piece rate alone does not guarantee that all workers receive a fair and reasonable wage. In fact, the piece rate does not assure any minimum hourly rate per man.

In July, the Utah State Employment Service reported to the U.S. Department of Labor on wages of sugar beet workers in various regions of that state. In the South Central sugar beet area, **Utah reported that the average wages of one group of employees working at a piece rate of $11.00 per acre for weeding were $ .92 per hour for each worker. In the same region for the same activity during the same time period those working on a piece rate of $10.75 per acre made $1.67 per hour. The Migrant Research Project has found the piece rate as used by the Secretary of Labor as the sole means of determining fair and reasonable wage rates for employes in certain sugar beet activities to be unsatisfactory.** A piece rate could be maintained if it were combined with an absolute minimum wage below which each worker could not be paid. Whatever the Secretary finds to be a fair and reasonable wage rate for all employees should apply as a minimum to all activities. It is MRP's contention that a piece rate may have no necessary relationship to a fair and reasonable wage rate, and that the piece rate alone is not an adequate standard to ensure that fair and reasonable wages are received by all employees. **Therefore, MRP believes that by using the piece rate as the sole standard for determining fair and reasonable rates for some activities, the Secretary of Labor has not met a necessary condition to payment to growers under the Sugar Beet Act.**

The Act also requires that as a condition to making payment to sugar beet producers, the Secretary shall ensure that a fair and reasonable wage rate is received by all workers. MRP believes this is another condition to payment that has not been met.

BONUSES

As already noted, the earnings of a migrant worker vary greatly due to several factors. During the summer when weather is bad, many famiiles do not break even by the end of the summer; consequently many leave, if they can, in search of better field conditions. Crews that leave the homebase together, do not always stay together throughout the season. Many factors can and do cause the division of the crew.

Since many crops, such as asparagus and tomatoes, are perishable and labor is difficult to recruit during the season, most companies and growers have established a "bonus" system with the intent of making it difficult for the migrant to leave before the end of the crop season without losing a substantial amount of money.

The "bonus" system operates in a number of ways. It may be 1) a deduction from wages withheld until the end of the season; 2) travel advances made at the beginning of the season to help the family with expenses from Texas. These advances need not be repaid at the end of the season if the work has been satisfactorily performed; or 3) based on the amount of work performed. i.e. the asparagus worker receiving a 4 cent bonus for each additional pound over 8,000 pounds.

If the bonus is a deduction from wages earned, but is withheld until the end of the season, it is a "hold-back." This amounts to garnishment of wages. When bonuses have been withheld from wages, it is important to see if the wages paid meet the federal or state minimum wage requirements. Since most migrant workers do not receive paycheck stubs listing wages earned, hours worked, deductions made, this is generally very difficult for the migrant worker to document. Further, when the worker performs the work on a contract basis, it is exceedingly difficult for him to prove that he was not paid the federal or state minimum wage. He must document carefully the hours actually worked, the pounds, bushels, or acres covered, and payment received. This is difficult to do, particularly in sugar beets where the workers are not paid until the end of the season.

Use of Bonus To Retain Labor

Whenever the bonus system is used, the overall intent is to retain labor regardless of working or living conditions. As one company notes of its bonus, "This refund will be made only to those workers who stay and complete the full season, or who are excused by mutual agreement by the crew leader and the company management. The workers must have done a satisfactory job, in that he worked when necessary ,moved from farm to farm with his crew when requested, and did a clean job of snapping (asparagus)..." **In some instances, completion of the full season requires that the family remain until late fall working in warehouses or cleaning fields, even when only a few hours of work each day are available.** For migrants, the presence of the "hold-back bonus" which in effect, is garnishment of his earnings not only places him in peonage, but diminishes the available money with which to purchase food or food stamps. Thus, he may be at the peak of his earning capacity, and still be without ready cash with which to provide the necessities of life for his family. This places him in jeopardy when he applies for participation in the foodstamp program, since he must verify his earnings to the welfare office. When he is unable to do this, county welfare officials generally accept telephone verification from the grower instead of self-declaration from the migrant worker. The employer may or may not given accurate information. When a portion of the migrant's earnings are withheld from him, he often does not have the cash to make the necessary purchase even though he may succeed in being certified.

Migrants frequently reported to MRP loss of bonus when disputes developed with the employer regarding field or crop conditions and the wage to be paid. Typical was a family in a mid-west stream state who came to work at the tomato harvest. Altogether, the family had twelve members, and each worker was paid 15 cents for each basket of tomatoes picked. However, 2 cents from each 15 cents earned was withheld as a bonus to be collected at the end of the season. If the working conditions were excellent, the family might be able to pick as many as 90 to 100 baskets per day.

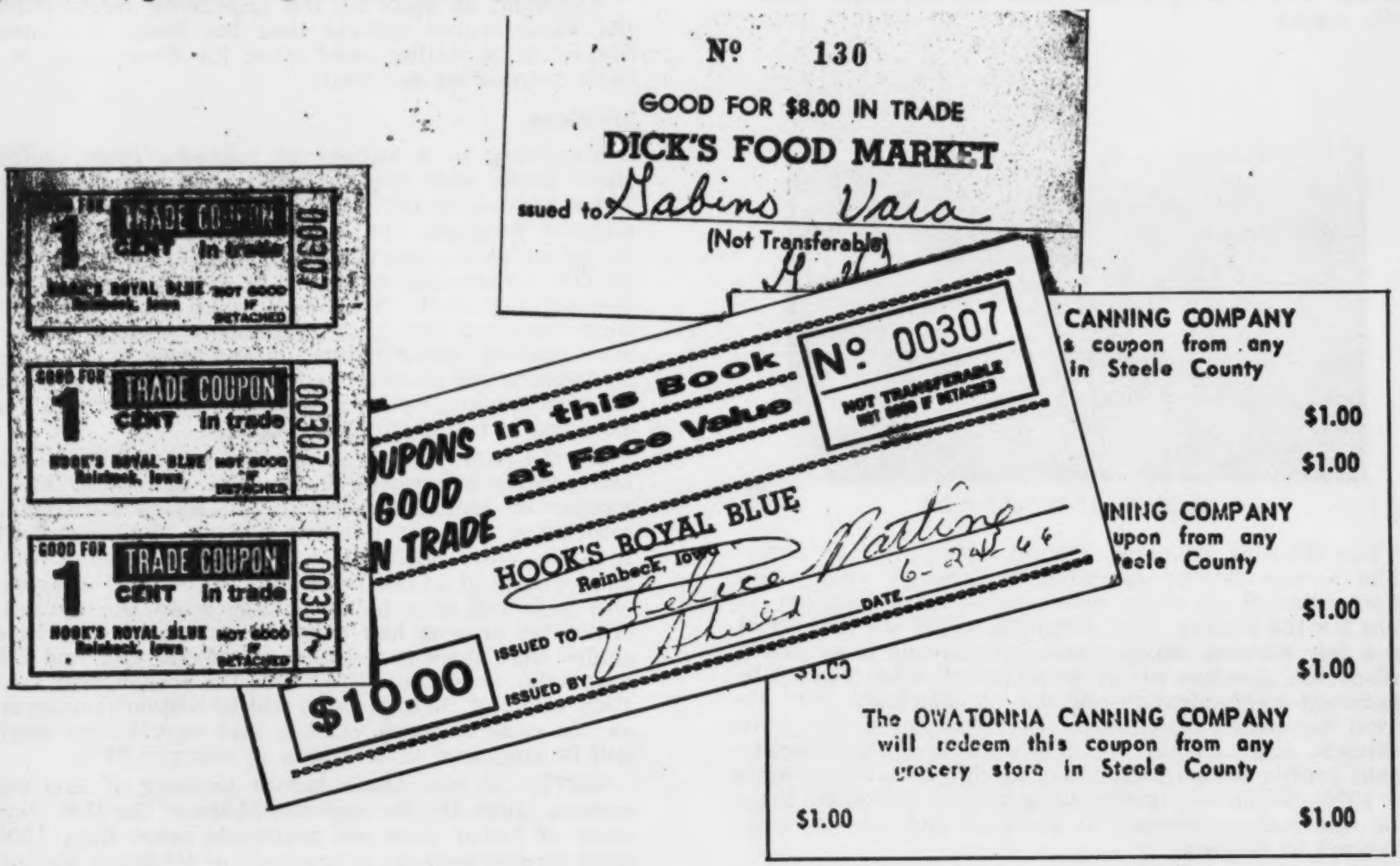
Toward the end of the season, the grower told the migrant to pick the tomatoes in a field where the crop was thin and there were many weeds. The migrant estimated that he would only be able to pick one basket per hour; earning 13 cents per hour for his labor. When he refused to pick the field at the 15 cent rate, the grower presented the family with a one day eviction notice and withheld the "bonus" for failing to remain until the end of the season and performing the work as required!

COUPONS

Many migrants, because of irregular employment due in part to low wages and weather conditions, are provided with advances during the summer by their employer. In general, advances are made for 1) travel from Texas to the field location, 2) food and other purchases when fields cannot be entered because of weather conditions or work is not available, 3) purchases necessary for the performance of the work such as gloves, aprons, and other items needed. Since small growers particularly are not paid by the processor until the end of the season when the harvest is complete, they often arrange credit at local grocery stores for their migrant labor, guaranteeing this to the store owner; or they issue the migrant coupon books which must be redeemed for food items at specified grocery stores. This arrangement is, in effect a method of borrowing operating capital for the grower/employer at the expense of the migrant laborer who cannot afford to finance the interest-free debt of his employer.

This practice also prevents migrants from doing comparative buying, and often subjects them to higher food prices with an income already too low for an adequate diet. It practically assures, they will not have the money to purchase foodstamps and gain the bonus purchasing power of the stamp program.

Two examples from southern Minnesota[13] this past summer illustrates the problem.



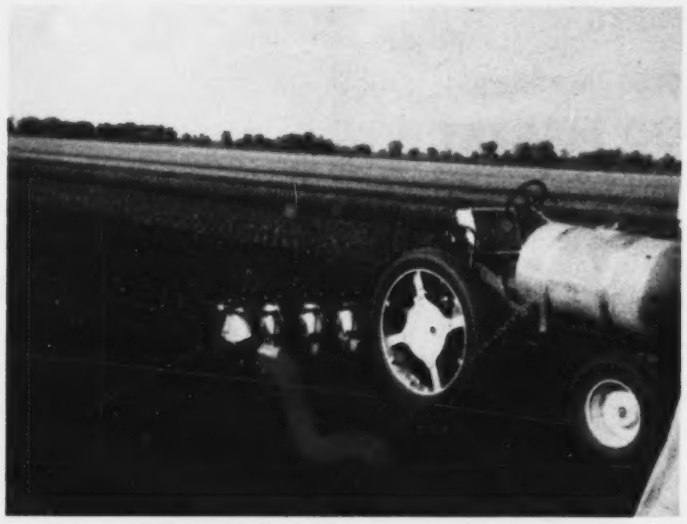
Mr. G. earned $232.50 for his work in the fields, but was not paid by his employer. Instead, without his consent, the employer deposited $100 in the local supermarket as credit for food purchases made by Mr. G. Furthermore, the food prices in this particular store were considerably higher than elsewhere for the same items. It was estimated that Mr. G. could have had an additional $25.00 of groceries had he shopped at another store with his $100. The purchase of food stamps, had they been available in this particular county, would have resulted in a considerably higher amount of food items for the family.

Nor are migrants allowed to withdraw the money credited to their account (their earnings as recorded by the grower) or to cash in the coupons, again issued in lieu of earnings or instead of cash payment for work performed. Mrs. V. was advanced coupons at the rate of $8.00 each. She was given a total of six coupons amounting to $48.00. The coupons could be used at only one supermarket specified by the employer. On June 27, 1969, Mrs. V. spent $6.81 of the $8.00 coupon and requested her change. The store manager refused and said they did not give change on coupons. Mrs. V. was then obligated to spend the remaining $1.19 immediately. To further complicate the problem, the Departments of Social Welfare must count these food coupons as income when certifying a migrant for welfare assistance programs, even though the migrant did not have the availability of cash and a choice as to whether or not to purchase food stamps or any other item. As a result, many families do not qualify for food stamps at minimum rates, and do not have the funds with which to purchase the stamps at the rate they are qualified to receive them.

(13)—Migrant Action Program, Iowa—Annual Report, 1969.

MECHANIZATION — A CRISIS SITUATION

For many years, it has seemed apparent that mechanization was having an impact on the number of jobs available for migrant workers in agriculture. Technological advances and American "know-how" has made it possible for fewer workers to produce a greater abundance of foodstuffs than ever before. Small family farms began to be replaced by giant agri-business. Each year, it seemed that migrant farm workers traveled more miles in seach of employment and found fewer jobs. The impact was slow in developing, but always the migrant heard that the "machine" was "almost perfected" and was winning the competition for speed and endurance at less cost to the producer than even his meager piecerate wages.



LETTUCE FIELDS IN WISCONSIN

The Migrant Research Project determined to undertake a very limited sampling to forecast what effect mechanization of crops would have on availability of jobs for the coming year. **Projections for the year 1970, in a few selected states where information is available, raises the question of an employment crisis caused by increased mechanization and use of chemicals.** The Migrant Research Project staff interviewed grantees, public officials, and migrants to determine what the employment profile for migrant labor would be in the summer of 1970. While our interviewing was on a limited basis, the information obtained is startling and may be summarized as follows:

1) Farmers are doing their own recruitment in greater numbers than ever before
2) Number of available jobs will be less than ever before
3) Growers are placing work orders with the federally funded Farm Labor Service for migrant workers; while at the same time they have machines on hand to perform the same labor
4) Unless remedial steps are taken immediately, more migrant workers will enter the stream this year than in the past several years due to lack of employment in the homebase states.

It seems evident that the hand labor is being recruited strictly as a back-up labor force to mechanization versus weather at the expense of the migrant workers. If the machines prove effective, (and there is no reason to believe they will not) the workers will be unemployed despite the fact they were recruited and traveled hundrds of miles for non-existent jobs.

It must be stressed that the sampling taken was limited, and not based on scientific effort, although an attempt to obtain representation was made. The results of this study can analytically be broken down according to the various states or regions sampled and are summarized as follows:

Washington

It was reported by an Office of Economic Opportunity grantee in one area that the following crops are to be mechanized this year:

a) grapes (32 machines are on hand— each replacing 51 people)
b) hops
c) asparagus

Moreover, in spite of the impending mechanization, the same source reports that the State Employment Service is recruiting hand labor for these crops in the same number as last year.

Michigan

According to a variety of contacts there including those made with the Regional Office of the Federal Labor Service, an Office of Economic Opportunity funded migrant program, the State Employment Service, and an agricultural economist at Michigan State University, 50,000 workers are expected to arrive in the State of Michigan in 1970. Not all of these persons, however, were recruited through the Michigan or federal recruitment system; nevertheless, on the basis of recruitment by farmers and growers, and word-of-mouth transmission of rumored employment opportunities, that number is expected in the State of Michigan.

At the same time, our survey revealed that only a few contracts covering 9,000 jobs had been let. The number of contracts made to Mid-March 1970 must be contrasted with the number made in the year of 1968. In that year, Michigan let 28,000 contracts for the employment of 74,000 migrants. Since MRP information was gathered at a point in time when the normal recruitment process had come to an end, it can be concluded that there is a decline of 65,000 jobs and 27,700 contracts, when contrasted with the recruitment year of 1968. Many of these persons will be without employment, as the same sources indicate that only 15,000 workers will be employed in Michigan in summer 1970.

NOTE: A late check before printing of this report reveals (June 10) the regional office of the U.S. Department of Labor does not anticipate more than 1500 to 2000 surplus workers in the state of Michigan during the summer. They state this will be due to corrective action taken by U.S. Department of Labor since the issuance of the above report.

Colorado

An Office of Economic Opportunity funded project in Colorado informed our personnel that approximately 9000 migrants will come into Colorado this summer. Due to mechanization projections, it is anticipated that the total employment in the state will be reduced, according to these same sources, by 7500 jobs. For example, it was reported that a major crop, sugar beets, will employ only 50 to 60 percent of the workers who were employed the previous year. The reduction in this instance, however, is to be caused by a number of factors: an existing surplus sugar supply, the resultant change in crops from beets to corn, reliance on available local labor sources, and mechanization.

Based on information obtained from Texas, recruitment for this area is generally down approximately 40%.

Iowa

Reinbeck, Iowa, employment is down 30% for the harvesting of asparagus crops and the method of recruitment has been changed. In this instance, recruitment was performed by the processor, rather than recruitment of labor through the State Employment Security Commission as has been the case in the past. The purported reason for the change in the recruitment method was the stepped-up-enforcement of housing regulations by the United States Department of Labor.

Wisconsin

The number of seasonal workers in rural industries declined in Wisconsin from 1968 to 1969 according to the State Employment Service. The number of rural food processing in-plant workers averaged 10,811 in the 1968 and 10,190 in 1969, while plant employed field workers averaged 2,135 per month in 1968 and 1,710 in 1969. Similar drops were reported in other rural work categories.

Mid-Continent

A telephone inquiry to the U.S. Department of Labor Regional Office of the Farm Labor Service revealed the following information on clearance orders:

CLEARANCE ORDERS FOR INTERSTATE RECRUITMENT

State	Date	No. of orders	Percent change	No. of workers	Percent change
Michigan	1969, 3/17	68		2,298	
	1970, 3/16	59	-14	3,537	+54
Ohio	1969, 3/18	135		3,753	
	1970, 3/16	189	+40	5,672	+51
Illinois, Indiana	1969, 3/14	166		15,194	
Minnesota, Wisconsin	1970, 3/16	165	-01	12,998	-9

In Michigan and Ohio the tendency is toward more workers per order. The reason for this is not know at this time.

The other four mid-western states show a decline in both the number of workers recruited and the number of orders placed. However, the number of workers recruited seems to be higher than can be employed if the information on mechanization properly reflects the decline in jobs.

Last year gave ample evidence of what happens to the migrants when recruitment is higher than jobs. Unless welfare agencies in the state are prepared to assist the unemployed in a meaningful way, the deprivation of the migrant is horrendous.

NOTE: Just prior to final editing of this report, MRP again checked with the United States Department of Labor, Farm Labor Service, in the Chicago region and learned of remedial steps taken to alleviate the anticipated problems in Michigan and the other mid-Continent states. These were:

1. Establishment of a regional coordinating committee composed of representatives of various agencies including United States Department of Labor; Housing and Urban Development; Agriculture; Transportation; Health, Education, and Welfare to assist states in working with migrants.
2. Worked in cooperation with the Texas State Employment Service to alert migrants not to leave Texas without a definite job placement .
3. Developed a special daily reporting system in each state to determine amount of surplus farm labor available to enable the regional Department of Labor to take corrective action.
4. Encouraged the Governors of each of the states to require the State Departments of Welfare to accept "self-declaration of income" from migrants for certification for food stamps for at least the first thirty day issuance of food stamps.
5. Staff from a United States Department of Labor special research program will be retained to refer migrants to all available welfare programs.

Florida

Mid-March 1970 estimates of unemployment among migrants in Florida was placed at about 24,000 by the indigenous groups and the Office of Economic Opportunity funded migrant projects. Leaders of the indigenous groups interviewed by MRP staff indicated that when work was available, it was for a few hours per day, and only for two or three days per week.

Reports from state officials centered on the difficulty of recruiting labor for these short-term, part-day jobs and not on the problem of unemployment migrants faced. As a result, conflicting information, one group stating a labor shortage, the other a labor surplus was released. Therefore, no planning was done to either determine the extent of the problem nor to attempt solutions.

Mechanization and weather have reduced the man-hours and man-days required to harvest the crop. For the migrant, who is accustomed to and needs several weeks of work in the winter and spring in the homebase area, steady jobs are difficult to obtain. To the Employment Service recruiting for short term field jobs, available jobs are not being filled. This is caused in part because the migrant looks for the better job, and partly because the offered work site is often so far from his home that he must leave his family in order to accept the job. It is also difficult and expensive for him to maintain two homes. Additionally, he is often unskilled in the crop for which he is recruited and transportation may be a problem.

As a result of this conflicting information or perhaps perspectives — i.e. one report emphasizing that a job shortage existed whereas another group argued that, in reality, a labor surplus existed and was under-utilized— conflicting information is available to the public and regulatory agencies concerned with the affairs of migrants. For the State Employment Service, attempting to fill "hard-to-place" jobs, there was a labor shortage. Their solution to the problem was to recruit outside labor from other states.

Texas

Mid-March contact with indigenous groups residing in the Rio Grande Valley, indicated that only 12% to 15% of the migrants in the area were working at the time of the interview. Of these workers, 70% were working a 40-hour week, 30% a 20-hour week. Approximately 67,000 persons were unemployed at the time of our contact. Leaders of indigenous groups indicated that more migrants than ever before would enter the stream in the summer of 1970.

New York

The Migrant Research Project grantee reports they are expecting a crisis situation in June, 1970 with an over-flux of migrants coming up from the south. There will be fewer jobs available due to greater mechanization, especially in potatoes. They also report an over-recruitment for the coming summer.

Other Data Gathered by MRP

In the course of distributing emergency food and medical monies in the home-based states of Florida and Texas when migrants were in the area, other information was obtained—**information which corroborates our view that an employment and hunger crises will develop during the summer of 1970.** MRP spent funds at the rate of $2,000 to $4,000 per day feeding people over a seven-day period. During the period when the migrants were in the above two homebase areas, the amount of money disbursed to individuals ranged from 20 cents to $1.00 per day per person.

Based upon food monies disbursed and information gathered in the informal contacts and survey efforts described above, it is the **Migrant Research Project staff's conclusion that mechanization has had and will have a serious impact on the number of jobs available in 1970 in both the homebase states and in the stream states.** In addition, contacts with leaders of indigenous groups in both homebase states of Texas and Florida indicate that even more migrants than in previous years will enter into the migrant stream this year, and that fewer jobs will be made available to them. The chaotic state of the market for migratory labor becomes self-evident. In addition, if poor weather or mechanization at the anticipated increased rate further upsets, an already chaotic labor market, the problems facing migrant laborers will be intensified manyfold. In effect, they will be forced to rely upon outside assistance to maintain their families while residing in the stream states. Moreover, in many instances, their meager earnings will not provide them with sufficient monies to return with their families to the homebase state where they reside. Even if they have sufficient funds to finance the trip home, the money saved will be insufficient to maintain the families during the winter months when will enter the migrant stream this year, and that limited work is available in those homebase states. **The result anticipated is employment chaos and hunger of a dimension previously unknown in both homebase states and stream states impacted by migrants who either will be underemployed or unemployed during many months of this calendar year.**

Chapter IV

HOUSING: A FRINGE BENEFIT OF EMPLOYMENT

Migrant housing has long been a problem to migrant and employer alike. During the recruitment of migrants in Texas, workers are generally assured that the provision of clean, decent, and sanitary housing will be provided as a fringe benefit of the employment. Some migrants reported they were shown pictures of housing at the time of recruitment which simply failed to materialize when they reached the work site. Operating on the debt economy of migrancy and forced to borrow against future earnings, seldom are funds available to move on to search for other work sites where living conditions are better.

Low-cost housing in both the homebase and stream states is simply a myth. The Migrant Research Project during 1969 conducted an intense survey of migrant housing in the stream state of Michigan. The results of this study are available as a seperate publication and may be obtained from the Migrant Research Project. The study is synopsized in Part IV of this report, and is typical of migrant housing found in all areas of the country.

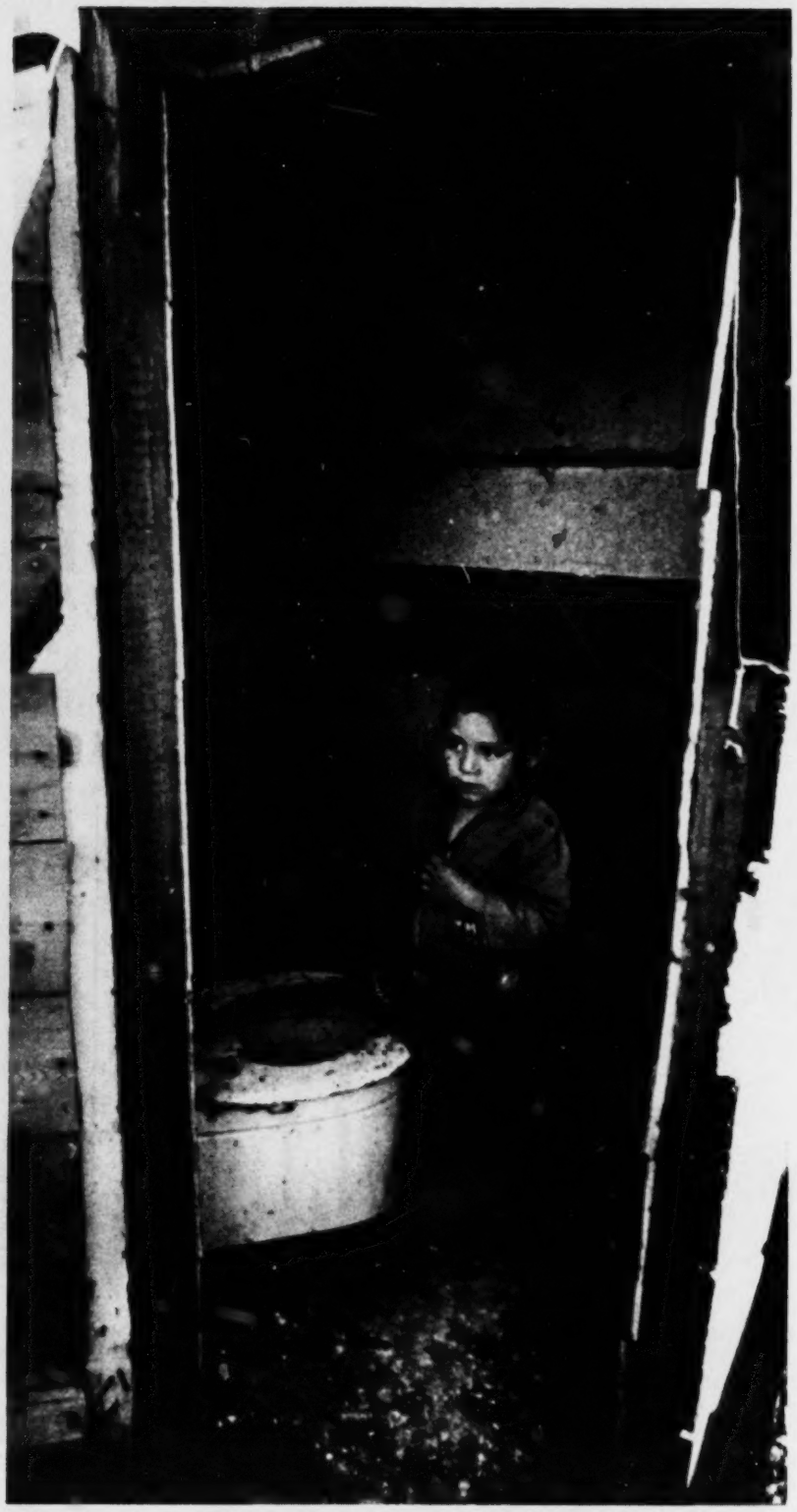
In addition to the Michigan study, MRP conducted a field inspection of migrant housing in Florida and spoke to migrant workers in Glades County. Migrant workers

PROVISION OF HEAT

LAUNDRY ROOM

still occupy housing that was constructed by the United States Government during the 1930's as temporary units. The cabins are small, with poor venilation, and are constructed on stilts, since the soil is of high nitrogen content and easily evporates leaving the cabins awry. The conditions in these camps which still segregate anglos, blacks, and Mexican-Americans are deplorable.

The Glades Citizen's Association reported that Pahokee Housing Authority had complete control as to who occupied the housing. As bad as it was, it was the only housing available. New construction was underway in the area; however, it appeared the new cement block structures were being constructed below ground level and that spring rains would be a problem.



From—"CHILD OF HOPE"

Stewart and Sandage

A. S. Barnes, New York, 1968

The report of the Glades Citizen's indicated that the camp, occupied by Mexican/Americans, was determined by the Pahokee Housing Authority to be unlivable and was therefore condemned. Occupants were notified they must vacate the premises. Since no other housing was available, many of the Mexican/American occupants were forced to enter the migrant stream and move up north where labor was already in over-abundance due to mechanization in Michigan, and poor weather in other areas. After the camp had been vacated by the Mexican/Americans, anglo families were allowed to occupy the units. The only explanation offered by the Glades Citizen's Association was that the residents of the old camps were to be resettled into the new units upon their completion!

Report on Housing Conditions in Migrant Labor Camps in Minnesota, 1969

During the summer of 1969, Migrant Research Project, in cooperation with the Migrant Action Program of Iowa, conducted a survey of migrant housing in Southern Minnesota. The survey was confined to a small area, but the MAP agency indicated they believed the results were typical of other areas in Minnesota as well. The results of this survey are as follows:

"Housing and sanitation regulations covering conditions in migrant labor camps have been in effect in Minnesota since 1951 and were recently improved in 1968. The regulations are generally somewhat more comprehensive than those set forth by the federal government which apply to camps where workers are recruited through the Employment Security Commission.

Yet, not unlike many other regulatory agencies, the environmental sanitation division of the Minnesota Health Department has been slow in enforcing the provisions of the law. The Department claims that, "As in past years, each camp will be inspected by area sanitation inspectors, employed for approximately 13 weeks during the summer, and supervised by a full-time public health sanitarian. Camp ratings will depend upon the degree of hazard to health and safety. If corrections are not made, the camp permit will be revoked." If a permit is issued, it should be posted "in a conspicuous place in the camp" along with a copy of the housing regulations.

The staff of MAP conducted a survey of nine migrant camps in southern Minnesota to determine if the camps did meet the state's regulations. All of the camps were occupied at the time of the survey, and not one of the nine had a permit posted. Nor had any of the occupants seen an inspector during their stay in the camps.

All of the camps had a large number of violations of the housing regulations, many of which directly threatened the health and safety of the camp occupants. Three wells were suspect since the water was discolored and had a strong odor. In each case, the occupants boiled it before use. But while boiling may kill dangerous bacteria, it only further concentrates nitrates in the water; and an overly high concentration of nitrates can be extremely dangerous for nursing mothers causing Nitrate Cyanosis or Methemo globinemia(blue babies). In addition, more than half of the camps inspected fell far short of the regulations in the provision of bathing facilities and an adequate supply of hot and cold running water. (See Table I.)

As Table II indicates, the major violations were in site standards, toilet facilities, laundry, and washing, bathing facilities, and refuse disposal. Apart from the water supply, these are the areas which most directly concern the health and safety of migrant workers. On the average, the nine camps inspected violated 46% of the standards outlined in Table I, and not all of the regulations were included. Some of the standards were excluded either because of insufficient data or the lack of necessary technical knowledge as when inspecting sewerage treatment facilities.

The conclusions of this report are in agreement with a recent survey conducted by the St. Paul Pioneer Press. The newspaper survey found that "very few camps have showers, and bathtubs are nearly nonexistent. Most toilet facilities consist of outdoor privies, many in violation of state health codes. Furthermore, of 109 wells checked last summer by one inspector, 106 were in violation of the health regulations. Together, these conditions indicate the need for far better enforcement of the present housing standards in Minnesota.

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CODE VIOLATIONS IN HOUSES OCCUPIED BY MIGRANT WORKERS IN MINNESOTA, 1969

Housing Standards *	Violations Number	Violations Percent
Site Standards		
Sites shall be adequately drained	6	67 %
Grounds and open areas surrounding the shelters shall be in a clean and sanitary condition	6	67
All camps shall provide a space for recreation	0	0
Shelter Standards		
Roof leaks	3	33 %
Walls leak	0	0
Floor unsafe	1	11
Wooden floor not smooth and of tight construction	5	56
Floor gathers water	2	22
Windows need replacing or repairing	3	33
Doors are not solid and need repairing	2	22
Exterior openings not effectively screened	3	33
Lack of food storage shelves and work counter	0	0
Not enough tables and chairs for the family	5	56
Water Supply		
An adequate water supply for drinking, cooking, bathing, and laundry purposes shall be provided	0	0 %
Each water supply shall be inspected regularly	9	100
Water unsafe for drinking	3	33
Cold water tap shall be available within 100 ft. of each living unit when not inside	3	33
Wells should have tight covers and be constructed to preclude outside pollution	0	0
Toilet Facilities		
There should be at least a ratio of one unit for each twelve persons	1	11 %
Separate facilities for men and women	8	89
Facilities should be lighted at night	8	89
Toilet paper should be provided	5	55
Privy pits should be fly-tight	5	55
Privies shall be located 50 ft. or farther from any living unit	2	22
Laundry, Handwashing, Bathing Facilities		
Bathing and handwashing facilities shall be provided for use of all occupants	6	67 %
Adequate supply of hot and cold running water	5	56
There should be one shower head for every fifteen persons	6	67
Separate facilities for men and women	6	67
One laundry tub for every twenty-five persons	4	45
Lighting Requirements		
All shelters shall be provided with electric service	2	22 %
Adequate lighting for yard area and pathways to common use facilities	6	67
All wiring and lighting fixtures should be maintained in a safe condition	0	0
Each habitable room shall have at least one wall-type electric convenience outlet	4	45
Refuse Disposal		
Durable, fly-tight containers of a minimum of twenty gallons capacity shall be provided	8	89 %
Provisions shall be made for the collection of refuse at least twice per week	7	78
Safety and Fire Prevention		
First aid facilities shall be provided and readily accesible at all times	9	100 %
Units of approved fire-extinguishing equipment shall be provided	7	78

* Not all of the standards set forth in the legislation are included in the Table since either information was not available or inspections required technical knowledge, as with sewerage disposal facilities and nitrate content in drinking water.

TABLE II

AVERAGE NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS PER MIGRANT CAMP IN MINNESOTA, 1969

Housing Standards	Total Possible Violations	Average Number of Violations	Ratio of Possible to Actual Violations
Site Standards	3	1.9	70
Shelter Standards	10	2.7	30
Water Supply	4	.7	19
Toilet Facilities	6	3.6	66
Laundry, Handwashing, Bathing Facilities	5	3.0	67
Lighting Requirements	4	1.2	31
Refuse Disposal	2	1.4	80
Safety and Fire Prevention	2	.7	37
Total . . .	36	15.1	46

* Table based on standards cited in Table I and does not include all of the requirements of the housing law but only those for which sufficient data exists from current inspections conducted by MAP. The ratio of possible to actual violations provides a measure of the prevalence of violations. Thus, on the average camps violated 46% of the standards cited in Table I.

In addition, an article in Minnesota's Health on May 15, 1969, noted that, "Since the new health department regulations conform to the revised United States Department of Labor housing standards, state health department personnel will make inspections for both agencies this year to avoid duplication of services." Normally, the Labor Department would make inspections of camps where the camp operator recruits workers through the State Employment Security Commission. Several of the camps inspected were occupied by workers recruited in this manner. **Yet, as the data indicates, the camps were in gross violation of both Federal and State housing standards. The existence of these conditions raises serious questions about the decision of the Labor Department to delegate inspection responsibilities to the Minnesota Department of Health.**

Special Texas Employment Commission Project

In the summer of 1969, for the first time, the Texas Employment Commission in cooperation with the Minnesota Employment Security Commission and other agencies initiated the "Experimental and Demonstration Interstate Program for South Texas Migrant Workers." The program set forth two major objectives. First, it was designed to demonstrate whether or not Texas, the northern demand states, and the federal government, working in cooperation with one another, could provide the migrant families with the services needed while traveling in the migrant stream. These services were to include assistance in job placement, housing, health, and welfare services, and basic education. Secondly, the project was designed to provide the remedial and/or skill training needed to facilitate the transition of the migrant farm workers into other types of employment for that time when seasonal farm jobs no longer exist. The underlying premise of the program was that the declining demand for seasonal farm workers would eventually leave Texas burdened with a large untrained work force for which no jobs exist.

Twenty-five families were selected as participants in the program who came to Southern Minnesota to work. For these families there were few benefits. Working conditions and total earnings were extremely low this past summer due to weather conditions; and as this report demonstrates, much of the housing occupied by these families was substandard. Little was done to counsel families on job opportunities, health and welfare services, or educational services. In sum, the project did little to change the basic living and working conditions experienced by migrant workers in southern Minnesota.

Chapter V

ADMINISTRATIVE BARRIERS TO WELFARE

The United States of America, in the past decade, set out to abolish poverty among its citizenry. As a nation, we decreed it against our policy and against our own best interest to have 13% of our population ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-educated, and in ill-health.

To achieve our goal, we explored new ideas, examined programs of the past, and launched our campaign through legislation, education, and litigation to bring relief to the vast numbers of people not participating in our affluence.

Legislation such as the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Food Stamp Act, were passed.

Education programs were launched to have segments of the population who possessed "know-how", teach those of us who needed such knowledge and skills. Citizens were educated to give knowledge and to accept training. Government, labor, management, social, and civic groups were asked to bring their expertise to the problems. Citizens were asked to participate to the fullest.

Court cases were brought to question the validity and practice of administrative procedures for enforcing laws already in existence. Some of the questions raised were: Can a state withhold welfare benefits from a person who has not resided in that state for a specific period of time? Can a state terminate welfare benefits to a person without first holding a hearing to determine whether there are mitigating reasons against termination? Other questions were and will be asked.

Special Study of Food Distributed to Migrants in 18 Counties

Federal funding agencies with the responsibility of carrying out federal programs through regional, state, and local agencies are presented with almost insurmountable problems. Congressional intent determined both by legislative language and legislative discussion may not be clear, and may require court interpretation.

For example, the purpose of the Food Stamp Act is to guarantee that ".... .the nation's abundance of food should be utilized cooperatively by the states, the Federal government, and local government units to the maximum extent practicable to safeguard the health and well-being of the nation's population and raise the levels of nutrition among low-income households....." The food stamp program may only be inauguarated "at the request of an appropriate state agency" which shall "submit for approval a plan of operation specifying the manner in which such program will be conducted within the State (and) the poltical subdivision within the State."

In the early winter of 1969, the Migrant Research Project made a comparative study of food distributed in 18 counties of ten states which are heavily populated by migrants during given times of each year. The purpose of the survey was to determine to what degree migrants share in food programs either during the work season or during the winter season. Based on information previously gathered, it was obvious that the currently administered food programs were not reaching a high percentage of the migrant population.

The selection of states in the study included those with the greatest migrant populations, either "home based" or migrating into the state to assist in seasonal agricultural work. The counties were selected for this study based on the size of the migrant population, but only included those where a food stamp or food commodity distribution program was in effect during 1968.

Figures for determining migrant populations in the counties selected were as listed in the **1969 Report of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.** Monthly reports of the United States Department of Agriculture Consumer and Marketing Services, **Food Assistance Programs**, were used as the source of information on the average number of persons assisted per month over the designated period. The purpose of the dual period analysis was to compare the level of participation in food assistance programs during those periods of time when migrant workers impacted the area to other periods of the year when there were few or no migrants in the county.

Florida and Texas were used for the home-base states. Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin were used as the "in stream" states.

Of the ten states studied, Texas, Michigan, and Wisconsin showed an increase in the average number of persons assisted in a month when migrants were present. In Texas, less than 16% of the migrants in the counties studied were served with public food assistance programs in the month studied. However, migrants fared better in Texas than in any of the other stream states. In Michigan, less than 2% of the migrants in any county studied were included in county food programs; in Wisconsin less than .001% were included. **In the other states, fewer people were fed during the peak season than at other times of the year! Therefore, we can make the assumption that few or no migrants participated in public food programs in these states.**

Follow-up studies were done in each of the studied states during the course of the year. The purpose was to determine how and why migrants, who are among the lowest paid of all United States citizens, were not participating in food programs.

Our study of selected state plans, and the implementation of such plans, show all too clearly that migratory agricultural workers were not considered or planned for in the development of state plans approved by the United States Department of Agriculture.

This Government agency, through its tremendous resources, has available to it information on: a) the rate of mechanization in agriculture, b) knowledge as to the timing of the harvest, c) knowledge as to long-range weather predictions, d) knowledge as to projected skills needed in agricultural work, e) knowledge as to the number of workers needed now and in the future, etc. Much of this information through U.S.D.A.'s research

funds is made available to growers and growers' associations. None of it, seemingly, is made available to assist migrant agricultural workers. Were this information brought to bear in studying and approving state plans for the distribution of food, most of the problems migrants face in participating in such programs would be eliminated. It is ironic that the migrant agricultural worker cannot receive from the Department of Agriculture sufficient concern to allow him to assist in harvesting food for the world.

Lack of Planning by Department of Agriculture

A serious obstacle to significant migrant participation in the federal food programs relates to the data relied upon by U.S.D.A. in formulating and evaluating its food programs. Based upon discussions between MRP staff members and U.S.D.A. officials in charge of administering the federal food programs, the following seems clear:

1) U.S.D.A. food officials do not consider nor do they rely upon information collected by other branches of U.S.D.A. where it concerns matters directly affecting the hunger and nutritional needs of migrants. (An example would be the availability of work to the migrants due to weather and crop conditions or the increasing use of mechanization, even though such information is made available to the migrants' employer.)
2) policy-making officials do not require tabulations or studies of migraht participation in federal food programs in spite of the availability of such information under the record keeping and reporting requirements of relevant acts.
3) the statistical data gathered through the United States Bureau of the Census and relied upon U.S.D.A. to make policy decisions is inadequate because the base of the sample used contains less than 50,000 persons, nor does the data set forth include a detailed breakdown within the category of "Mixed Farm Working Force" of days worked and wages earned on farm and non-farm employment. The 1970 census offers little prospect of a clearer profile of the special characteristics of migrants as a population group. The decennial census, including the 1970 survey presently underway, is not structured to differentiate between migrants and all other farm workers. In fact, it would be impossible to do so since Government agencies have failed to agree upon a definition of a "migrant agricultural worker." U.S. Department of Labor, The U.S. Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity have developed independent definitions of eligibility for their various programs with respect to a "migrant." At times, there have been conflicting definitions developed for programs within a Department. As a result, the "migrant worker" is a "migrant worker" for one program, but, at the same time, may not be a "migrant worker" for another government program.

Even assuming that better data collection methods were employed by U.S.D.A., there are other institutionalized impediments to an effective evaluation of migrant participation in food programs. There is no systematic collection of information on an annual basis (e.g., a yearly updating of the decennial survey) with suitable detail to enable planning, execution, and assessment of existing programs or the tailoring of programs to meet the nutritional, employment, and other needs of migrants. **In short, there is a need to build into the data collection process the utilization of social indicators — a form of social accounting — to guarantee that the actual conditions under which migrants live are recorded and to measure the changes in those conditions over a period of time.**

Furthermore, since more than one department of the federal government is charged with responsibility for alleviating the migrants plight, **there is a need to create, an interdepartmental council to oversee and integrate on a coordinated basis an effort to redress some of the current and easily anticipated problems that beset the migrant** — e.g., his health and nutritional needs, displacement by mechanization and generally uncertain employment opportunities, and substandard housing conditions — to name only a few of the ills capable of immediate interdepartmental action.

Under the existing circumstances, it is submitted that the Secretary of Agriculture has a clear legal duty to develop programs in 1970 to increase substantially migrant access to, and participation in, federal food stamp and commodity distribution programs. It is clear that the Secretary of Agriculture possesses sufficient discretion to take positive steps by regulation or formal instruction to abate significantly the hunger and nutritional crises facing the many migrants in our country today under either the food stamp or commodities distribution statutes.

FOOD STAMPS

Migrants generally arrive to harvest crops well in advance of the season and need food to survive. Barriers which made it impossible for food stamp participation by migrant and seasonal agricultural workers served by the Migrant Research Project last year can be categorized as follows:

(1) both home-base counties and stream-state counties are not prepared to service people other than local residents
(2) extensive documentation is required of non-residents both for certification and for the establishment of hardship deductions in income computation
(3) requirements vary from county to county
(4) food-stamp out-reach workers assigned to farm areas and migrant camps are practically non-existent
(5) office hours vary from a few hours per week or a few days per month to more reasonable hours
(6) food-stamp sales may be delegated to banks or other financial institutions, keeping banking hours
(7) emergency hours during the evening, weekends, or holidays are practically unknown
(8) income verification for a worker who has many employers and rarely receives pay stubs is almost impossible; an alternative would be the Declaration Process now being used by several states in their assistance programs
(9) resources, such as work-related resources, e.g., a car or truck disqualifies a person from participation in food programs in many areas of the nation
(10) residency may be the cause of ineligibility for food stamps since U.S.D.A. guidelines do not specifically rule it out

(11) there is no formal and effective complaint procedure to report failure to comply with a state plan

(12) certification and eligibility standards do not take into consideration persons having no income or irregular income

(13) practice of selling food stamps only once a month and not allowing for purchase at less than the full month at a time, eliminates migrants and others with sporadic income

(14) independent of its effect on the continued participation requirement, of "lump sum purchase" requirement works particular hardship on migrants who have no steady source of income.

COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION

Commodity Distribution programs present many of the same barriers to migrants who wish to participate in this type of food program. Surveys and reports we have studied indicate that:

(1) food distribution points are at inconvenient locations;

(2) there is a consistent failure on the part of U.S.-D.A. to allow O.E.O. grantees, indigeneous groups or others to administer the programs;

(3) rigidity in administration of the programs as to dates, place, and time of distribution, as well as places of certification and recertification, eliminate migrants from participating in the program;

(4) income certification procedures force migrants to verify matters not possible; simplified affidavit of certification could be substituted;

(5) general lack of uniformity in rules and practices relating to certification due to absolute responsibility for making decisions at the local level; simple delay in certification disqualifies a migrant who has to move on, or may have work in the interim. There is often up to 1 month's delay between certification and distribution;

(6) income and liquid assets allowable varies from county to county and in some instances, seemingly, from person to person;

(7) too frequently, county agencies make no provisions for people who cannot communicate in English;

(8) transportation is a major problem for migrants who must travel many miles to a distribution center—(one county welfare director suggested in an interview with MRP staff that if the migrant had transportation money to go the 70 miles round-trip to the center, he had enough money not to qualify for funds);

(9) lack of a refrigerator in which to store perishables, prohibits migrants from participating in the program;

(11) food available is not consistent with the cultural and eating practices of migrants—if the migrant worker suggests that some food items will not be welcomed, he may be told that he isn't hungry and, therefore, doesn't need the food;

(12) lack of education programs as to value of and preparation of foods available;

(13) lack of available foods in many counties.

SCHOOL LUNCH

School lunch programs in stream states also are programmed for resident children and rarely have sufficient funds available to provide for migrant children who come into the stream states in the spring of the year. Frequently, migrant children enter an affluent community and enroll in a school which had no need for a school lunch program for resident children. **Under current regulations, budgets for school lunch programs must be geared to a fiscal year basis and not to a quarterly basis which would allow the school to accomodate the very special and seasonal needs which accompany the impact of migrants.** As a result, migrant children do without lunch at school or use emergency food money supplied by O.E.O. in order to eat.

Welfare and Health

The exclusion of migrants from welfare programs may stem most immediately from the indifference of local welfare administrators. However, it also flows from restrictive legislation and budgeting at the federal and state levels.

Based on income, almost all of the migrants served through the Migrant Research Project, are eligible for welfare. The major reason they do not receive categorical assistance is because the father resides with the family. In stream states they are denied assistance—even on an emergency basis—because of residency requirements. In most counties, if a dire emergency exists, the county will provide the cheapest, immediate public transportation to the homebase, but will not provide emergency assistance. This seems to be true even in states where the state office will reimburse the county up to 100% of emergency costs at the end of the year.

Health care for migrants is virtually unknown except through migrant health clinics. The services from the clinics are limited, primarily to immediate and minor illnesses and referrals. Limited funds are available for hospitalization in some areas. More clinics and hospitalization could have been available through this program had state health departments considered health care of migrants more important than camp inspections.

Illnesses such as birth defects, drug addiction, alcoholism, and mental health problems are fundamentally ignored by health programs. In counties where funds are available to provide free health care at state hospitals, welfare directors save their allocation for permanent residents.

Budgeting for hospital care, under the Migrant Health Act, is based on 60% of hospital operating costs as determined by audits performed by federal accountants to determine allowable costs under Medicare. Medicare audits do not admit charity costs as hospital operating costs. Bad debts, however, are admitted as operating costs. Under this regulation, if a hospital provides charity to patients, up to 20% of its operating costs, Medicare payments are set at 80% of cost. The Migrant Health Act funds are then limited to 60% of the allowable 80%, or approximately 48% of the migrant patient's costs. This means that the hospital, in this instance, must assume 52% of the cost for each migrant patient. If a hospital is to serve migrants under these conditions, they must absorb the greater percent of the cost; or must refuse charity patients and force bona fide charity patients into the position of refusing hospital care or acquiring debts impossible for them to pay.

Chapter VI

NEGOTIATION FOR CHANGE

Lack of residency either in the homebase or in the stream states has complicated easy solutions to the common problems that plague migrancy. Low wages, lack of decent housing, lack of organization, child labor, language deficiencies, etc., are only results of the vocation the migrant pursues and his lack of coverage under the laws governing the laboring forces of the nation.

Efforts to gain inclusion under these laws have not been fruitful. In recent years, many organizations have attempted to provide support for coverage of agricultural workers under the National Labor Relations Act. Without a political constituency of his own, the migrant worker has been unable to negate the powerful lobbying forces of the industry which employs him. Not only does the migrant lack voting power in his homebase areas, he has not had the benefit of being the responsibility of any particular department of the federal government. Recognized by the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health as being a special responsibility of the United States government, this responsibility has not, as yet, been recognized and dealt with in an affirmative manner, by the Congress of the United States. Our research has shown that the migrant worker and agriculture have a vested interest in the well-being heavily weighted the equation in favor of the agriculture industry by the creation of the Department of Agriculture and the many services available to the growers and processors. Consideration must be given to extending these services to the laboring force of agriculture and accepting the responsibility for its well-being. People are surely as important as crops. Lack of voting power and success in passage of legislation which could alter the pattern of existence for migrants by improving the living and working conditions, has resulted in other means for redress of grievances being sought by migrant workers and by those concerned with his plight.

The Migrant Research Project has attacked the problem in three ways: through the courts, through testimony before Congressional Committees, and through participation in the structure of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health.

In addition, a major effort of MRP has been to enter into negotiation at the Federal level with various departments of government, to interpret to them problems and difficulties encountered by migrant workers in participating in various Federal programs and receiv-
of each other. It would appear that the country has
ing benefit from them. As reported in Part II of this report, one of the major problems in purchasing food stamps was the inability of county welfare offices to verify income or the practice of counting the value of food purchased by MRP grantees as income used in determining eligibility of migrants to participate in the program. It should be noted county welfare officials had authority, had they wished to use it, to certify hungry migrants for food assistance for the first 30 day period upon application without waiting for the income to be verified.

Upon request by MRP the food stamp office of the United States Department of Agriculture was helpful in interpreting the regulations governing O.E.O. funded assistance to the state welfare agencies. Additionally, MRP was able to work with the National School Lunch Program to extend this program to cover many more migrant children.

Since change through legislative and administrative process is recognizably slow, the Migrant Research Project has also served as co-counsel and provided legal research in several court cases which if successfully concluded will cause change to occur in both administrative processes and within the peonage of migrancy itself.

Change Through The Courts

Acting of-counsel with the Colorado Rural Legal Services, MRP has filed two companion cases in Colorado challenging two provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948. The Act, among other things, controls the wage rates of workers in the sugar industry. It applies not only to picking rates, but also wage scales for such work as weeding and raking. The cases challenge provisions setting up boards to settle wage disputes between the workers and the growers. These boards, set up under authority given to the Secretary of Agriculture, consist of growers in the area of the board's jurisdiction. Migrants are not represented on the boards. The challenge is based on the general principle that one party in a dispute, or those closely related and with identical interests, should not also be the judge of that dispute.

The second case deals with payment of wages through crew leaders. The Sugar Act requires direct payment to the workers by the grower employers unless the migrant signs a permission slip that designates otherwise. In this case the grower practice is to pay the crew chief who is supposed to pay the worker. This suit is based on the premise that the crew leader has opportunity and alledgedly does retain a portion of the pay for his personal use and that the migrant has nothing to say about whether or not he gets paid directly. This is felt to be a violation of the intent of the law.

Access to Property Issue

Another legal issue where MRP has acted as co-counsel on behalf of a migrant plaintiff is in Iowa. Migrants throughout the nation are often denied the right to determine freely who will visit them in their migrant camp homes. This case is a freedom of access issue and is based on the fourteenth amendment to the constiution which allows for the right to peacefully assemble and enjoy freedom of speech. The issue is expected to first be heard in Federal court during June of 1970. A successful ruling could be important for migrants everywhere.

Access to the courts is an important tool for migrants in all areas of grievance. Justice is often denied by the discriminatory practice of the exemption of agricultural workers from laws which govern wages, working conditions, health, and safety. Favorable court rulings will be important in altering the legislation which currently insure these exclusions.

Suit Under Fair Labor Standards Act

In New Bern, North Carolina, the Migrant Research Project was asked by local officials and migrant farm workers in the area to extend both emergency food service and legal research to a group of seasonal agricultural workers who, because of very low wages and alledged brutality of crew chiefs, began a strike in Craven and two adjoining counties against a blueberry grower.

The emergency food assistance was provided by the Migrant Service Center Project since the Migrant Research funds were too limited at that time. This money was particularly critical since it had the effect of allowing both sides a "cooling off" period during which time Duke University was able to arrange for investigators to determine the fairness and accuracies of the charges.

The leaders of the strike were arrested and Duke University, with assistance of the Migrant Research Project, filed action in August of 1969 to obtain for the blueberry pickers, minimum wage coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In 1967 this Act, for the first time, included wage coverage for agricultural workers.

There are at least two side results of the strike and subsequent court case. The first is a season case based upon Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In this action, it is alledged that the merchants in the area refuse to hire blacks in industry, thereby forcing them either to remain field workers or migrate from the area. This trend to out-migration of males results in the agricultural industry relying heavily upon black women and children for their low-paid work force.

The second result of the suit is the improved wages and working conditions in the cotton and tobacco crops. Avoidance of additional strikes and possibility of additional minimum wage suits was, no doubt, the impetus for this improvement.

During the course of project involvement, Migrant Research Project contacted the Department of Justice, Civil Rights Commission, Migrant Service Center, Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor (Raliegh, North Carolina), Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, church leaders, Duke Legal Aid Clinic, and the lawyer for several persons arrested in the incident to insure coordination.

Testimony Before Congressional Committees

Several times in the past year, the Migrant Research Project staff has been requested by Congressional Committees to present testimony relative to the finding of the project in working with and interviewing migrants on a one-to-one basis.

Testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor, (Perkins Committee) centered mainly on demographic information and more importantly the administrative barriers to participation in existing fund and welfare programs which deter migrant participation. Attention was called to the conditions which exist as a result of the number and realm of decisions left up to the discretion of county officials and case workers. The limitation arbitrarily placed on the number of times a needy family in poverty can apply for and receive food assistance and the impossibility of the certification processes here pointed up as failures of governmental agencies to impartially administer programs for the welfare of all citizens. Additionally, the Migrant Migrant Research Project staff's testimony presented facts on the inadequacy of the food stamp program to provide even the minimum basic diet as set forth by the U.S.D.A. Without additional income with which to purchase additional food, malnutrition and starvation is produced by reliance strictly on government food programs for subsistence.

The Migrant Research Project staff's testimony before the Perkins Committee also pointed up the inadequacy of medical services for migrants and the need for major revisions in the Medicaid program to prohibit states from imposing residency requirements of any kind for participation in the program. In Texas, for example, only persons already categorized as "needy" under the Social Security program are eligible for Medicaid. Texas as does some of the other states has no category for "medically needy which could also make him eligible for Medicaid. Therefore, a family with a mother, father and sick children cannot receive medical attention under the Medicaid program no matter how great their medical need.

Other Assistance

Other assistance provided by the Migrant Research Project of Congressional Committees centered mainly around the preparation of material which has been included on pages 31 through 33 of the **1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare — United States Senate** made by its Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, Report No. 91-83 on February 19, 1969. This section headed **Nutrition** again deals with the acute problems of hunger and malnutrition among migrant families. The testimony points up the problems experienced by migrants in gaining food assistance under programs designed and administered for a stable population. Those problems are compounded by the lack of non-governmental resources, such as local credit or private charity normally provided by communities to their residents. Of the 13 million dollars appropriated by Congress in fiscal 1968 for supplementary emergency food and medical services, to increase participation in federal food programs over a 6 month period, only $350,000 was set aside for migrant families. In fiscal 1969, the total appropriation for a 12 month period was only 17 million dollars for the entire population.

Chapter VII— SPECIAL STUDIES

WORKER SURVEY SAMPLING

Basically, the Migrant Research Project was conceived to gather two types of information, i.e., the extent to which migrant workers and their families were or were not receiving welfare assistance through established channels; and the reason or reasons special emergency MRP assistance was needed to meet their food needs.

To clearly define the problem, it was essential to gather more specific information relative to the recruitment and employment pattern of the workers. To gather these facts, it was determined to undertake a sampling of workers in a mid-west stream state and a far-west state. Iowa/southern Minnesota and Illinois were selected in the mid-west since it was possible to sample a larger percentage of the total migrant population in the area including Iowa southern Minnesota and western Illinois. The state of Washington was selected in the far west. New York State was also included in the east coast stream and was utilized as a control group since no persons in the New York sampling were certified to receive MRP assistance. It is interesting to note the similarity between the New York State migrant and the groups receiving MRP assistance.

The tables included in this report may not, in all instances, total to the number of responses indicated for the individual state. This is caused by the fact not all migrants responded to all questions. The reader should be aware that due to irregularity of employment and working conditions not all questions were considered to be applicable by the migrant at the time of the survey.

In the majority of instances, persons doing work as migrant agricultural workers had been in the stream only 1 to 5 years or had been migrants for at least 15 to 25 years. This raises the question of what is happening to the young adults.

This situation may be caused in part by the rapid mechanization of the crops in Texas and in part by the green card holders coming across the border and displacing domestic workers. At any rate, people are apparently being forced into the migrant stream in greater numbers. The United States Department of Agriculture reported this trend in 1965 with statistics showing an increase in migrants from 11% to 15% from 1949 to 1965*. Apparently this increase is still occurring 4 years later despite the effort to enroll migrants in skill training programs to ease the transition from agricultural to industrial employment.

The complete breakout for the sampled states is as follows:

Years as a Migrant Worker by Percentage of Sampling

Heads of Households

	1-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-25 years
Illinois 24 interviews	37%	21%	13%	29%
Iowa 99 interviews	49%	20%	11%	20%
southern Minnesota 44 interviews	34%	14%	14%	38%
Washington 222 interviews	19%	7%	6%	68%
New York 34 interviews	29%	20%	27%	24%

*U.S.D.A. Bullitin #121

56

The above figures represent the following number of people and crews:

Illinois	585 people	72 crews
Iowa	1,724 people	140 crews
Southern Minnesota	968 people	114 crews
Washington	2,521 people	55 crews
New York	1,000 people	26 crews

In view of the more stringent housing standards required by the U.S. Department of Labor for the recruitment of workers through the Employment Security Commission, and in an effort to determine the practices governing the employment of migrants which affected their ability to plan for and effectively provide at least minimum daily requirements for their families, the MRP Worker Survey Sampling surfaced other general information related to the problem.

These generally fell into two categories: information relative to recruitment practices and information relative to wages. Responses are indicated in the charts below. It should be noted the number of migrants surveyed who were recruited through the Employment Security Commission was so small that it is included under the heading "other" in the chart.

Method of Recruitment and Contractural Arrangement

	Employer	Friend	At Home	Other	Signed Contract Yes	Signed Contract No	Received Copy Yes	Received Copy No
Ill.	16%	78%	0	6%	0	100%	NA	NA
Iowa	16%	61%	5%	18%	17%	83%	78%	22%
Minn.	14%	57%	15%	14%	24%	76%	36%	64%
Wash.	28%	47%	7%	18%	26%	74%	48%	52%
New York	5%	37%	29%	29%	3%	97%	0%	100%

From the above chart, it is easy to note the majority of migrants are recruited in the homebase areas through friends and personal contacts. The arrangements are casual and very few workers actually are employed under a bona fide contractual arrangement. Only in Iowa,

where 13 of the migrants interviewed had signed what they believed to be a contract, did the majority of workers responding to the question indicate they had received a copy of the document. MRP was unable to verify its authenticity as a contract.

Since the majority of migrants indicated they had been recruited to join a crew through a friend, the MRP interview included a question to determine the widening effect of such recruitment and if those workers being recruited by friends were asked to recruit additional workers either within their own families or among their acquaintances. Although the number of responses was small, it does indicate the enormity of the problem the homebase states face in enforcement of legislation governing recruitment.

Number of Recruited Workers Asked to Recruit Additional Workers

	Among Family	Others
Illinois	1	11
Iowa	22	34
Minnesota	17	16
Washington	51	1
New York	6	0

The number of children doing agricultural field work is generally accepted as being large. However, the matter of actual recruitment of such children is a question.

There can be no denying the complexity of the problem of adequate enforcement of the limited amount of child labor legislation which could protect migrant children. Part of the solution lies in the recruitment process. The MRP survey of migrants asked if children were being recruited either over 14 years of age or under 14 years of age. Responses were as follows out of 416 returns:

	Number Recruited		Ages Asked		Proof Required	
	Less than 14	Over 14	Yes	No	Yes	No
Illinois	9	6	5	12	11	1
Iowa	19	102	29	54	16	42
Southern Minn.	47	103	15	19	8	18
Washington	34	76	101	81	1	120
New York	10	10	7	23	1	25
Total	119	297	157	189	37	206

A loan against future earnings is most often the only "ticket" a migrant has to his seasonal employment. To get to his work site, he must borrow from the employer. The MRP survey in the target states, however, indicated this practice may be undergoing a change. In Iowa, for instance, out of 99 responses, 79% indicated they had not borrowed from the upstream employer to get to the work site. Of the 21 who had borrowed transportation funds, only 13 indicated they had signed a promisary note for repayment of the loan. In Minnesota, 55% of those interviewed indicated they had not been forced to borrow travel money. However, of the Minnesota migrants responding, 61% or 23 heads-of-

Minnesota

households borrowing from the employer indicated they had signed promissory notes. In Washington, it was practically evenly divided between those who found it necessary to borrow money and those who did not do so. Only 49% or 37 heads-of-household negotiated a travel loan; of these 72% had not signed a note. The situation was similar among the New York group where 63% or 22 responding did not borrow money for travel. When loans were made 80% indicated they had not signed a promissory note. In Illinois, no migrants interviewed indicated they had borrowed funds for travel. However there were only 18 responses to the question.

MRP is unable to draw any conclusion as to this trend and what alternatives there may be developing for resources. Certainly MRP was not able to determine that greater numbers of migrants were finding winter employment in the homebase areas; indeed the reverse was true. However, this could be a partial indicator of the impact being made by stipended adult education training programs. It may also be the result of a change in mode of transportation and size of crews. This would seem to be substantiated in part by information received from the Chicago Regional Office of the U.S. Department of Labor who indicated job orders received are being placed for larger, but fewer crews for 1970. Those traveling may be traveling by truck vs. family automobile.

It is commonly believed there are certain guaranteed prequisites enjoyed by migrant workers such as free housing, utilities, interest-free loans, etc. In order to determine the way promises and guarantees were being made against those benefits actually received, migrants were asked to list recruitment promises. These have been tabulated as follows in the target states:

Recruitment Incentives

	Rent Free Housing	Minimum Wages	Guar. Wage on Rainy Day	Free Med. Attn.	Free Clthng. Blankts	Free Trans	Bonus	Loan for Groc.
Illinois	8						1	2
Iowa	54	20	7	9	4	8	16	44
S. Minn.	28	21	4	3	2	5	5	15
Wash	154				8	7	21	1
New York	4	—	—	—	—	8	9	1
Totals	248	41	11	13	14	28	52	53

Recruitment Incentives Received as Promised
(Percentage of those Responding)

	Yes	No
Illinois	100%	0
Iowa	81%	19%
So. Minnesota	71%	29%
Washington	97%	3%
New York	12%	88%

Normally, working people in this nation enjoy regular pay periods. In order to determine the pay intervals available to migrant workers which can provide funds to enable families to participate in food programs, the MRP survey defined the time sequence of pay periods in the target state areas.

The question determined not only the intervals between pay periods, if regular pay periods were established, but also whether or not pay records were kept and if so, by whom. Results were as follows:

Wage Payment Practices

	Time Interval				Wit. Rec.		By Whom (# of resp.)			
	Daily	Weekly	End of Season	Other	Yes	No	Self	Crew Chief	Grc.	Other
Illinois	15%	70%	15%	0	29%	71%	9	12	9	0
Iowa	0	52%	35%	13%	59%	41%	51	13	53	0
S. Minn.	36%	14%	30%	20%	68%	32%	22	3	21	0
Wash.	0	60%	30%	10%	0	100%	14	8	137	2
New York	0	100%	0	100%	100%	0	8	24	14	0
				Totals			104	60	234	2

Out of 400 responses, the table indicates that when the migrant was aware of written records being kept regarding the amount of his earnings, these records were kept by the grower and subject to the grower's control. Less than 50% of the workers had records of their earnings which explains part of the difficulty in applying for welfare and food assistance even when they were eligible for such assistance. MRP was not able to determine if the records maintained also indicated hours worked in order to determine the hourly rate actually earned in relation to the minimum wage hour even in those instances when it was applicable.

The practice of family earnings being credited to the head-of-the-household causes major difficulties for workers in accruing social security credits for old age assistance. It does enable the grower to maintain a simplified bookkeeping system and requires less reporting on his part to the Internal Revenue Service, the Social Security Administration, and appropriate state and local agencies. It conceivably could also cause families to be disqualified from participation in food programs in those instances where minor sons and daughters were married and could be certified as a family unit if separate cooking facilities or schedules could be maintained.

To determine the incidence of paying wages to one member of the family rather than to each individual employee as is generally required of industrial employers, migrants were asked to respond on the practice:

Migrant Earnings Credited and Paid

	One Family Member	Individual
Illinois	8	5
Iowa	75	18
So. Minnesota	20	9
Washington	112	41
New York	15	18
Totals	230	91

There can be no doubt that migrant workers are not receiving credit for their individual earnings in the target areas surveyed. Without doubt, the failure of employers to maintain and provide adequate records of earnings to individual migrant workers decreases the number of needy migrants able to be certified for food programs for which they may be eligible.

It is also important to persons applying for food assistance to not only show proof of income, but also to be able to provide proof of various deductions from gross pay which may be counted as hardship deductions in applying for food assistance. In all instances in the target areas, migrants reported deductions were made from their gross pay. The majority of workers surveyed felt the deductions made were fair as they understood the conditions of their employment.

Number and Percentage of Migrants Reporting Wage Deductions

	Deductions Made				Deduction Unfair to Worker				Wages Held Back Without Explanation			
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%
Illinois	16	84	3	16	21	100	0	0	14	82	3	18
Iowa	47	70	20	30	41	87	6	13	58	64	33	36
S. Minn.	25	100	0	0	19	90	2	10	34	83	7	17
Washington	120	81	28	19	154	100	0	0	89	59	62	41
New York	29	94	2	6	32	94	1	6	10	29	25	71
Totals	237		53		267		9		205		130	

The final question asked in the special worker survey sampling was designed to determine what was the effect of underemployment or days lost on the earnings of migrants. As expected, all workers reported days not worked. Indeed, this was the major reason reported for the need of special MRP food assistance as indicated in the accompanying chart:

Reasons for Requesting MRP Food Assistance

	Illinois	Iowa/Minn.	Washington	Total
Work Not Ready	14	77	98	189
Without Funds	1	87	79	169
No Job		42	42	165
No Reason	1	33	105	139
Medical	9	46	34	89
Wages Held Back	4	63	1	68
Car Payment		35	6	41
Debt to Grower		34	5	39
Weather		29	9	38
Loan Due	1	21	1	23
Car Repair		21		21
House Payment	1	17		18
Bonus End of Season	1	10		11
Disabled			7	7
Bonus Denied		5		5
Wages		5		5
Funeral	1		1	2
Owe Crew Leader		1		1
Other	11	59	66	136
Totals	44	585	454	1,164

The number of migrants reporting irregular employment and periods of unemployment during the peak work season was 948 workers. This irregularity of employment and underemployment during the peak earning season limits the amount available to workers for the purchase of food. In addition, workers were often kept from participation in the food stamp program by two practices employed by growers and processing companies to enable them to guarantee credit to local trades people and to defer capital expenditures of growers until the end of the season when crops are harvested and sold. These practices are the establishment of credit or charge accounts with local grocrs or the issuing of private food coupons, the value of which is deducted from gross pay and redeemed from local merchants by the growers. (See section on food coupons.)

This practice disallows the bonus purchasing power of Federal Food Stamps.

	Heads-of-Household Days of Unemployment*
Illinois	150
Iowa	260
S. Minnesota	104
Washington	215
New York	230

*Man Days

The worker survey form surfaced many of the contributing causes of migrant poverty. Because all tabulations were done manually by staff, it was necessary to cut off further tabulations on September 30, 1969. Therefore, not all samplings are included in this report. However, indications are that final tabulations will not deviate greatly from the reported percentages.

Chapter VIII

SPECIAL WISCONSIN PROJECT

The conclusions reached by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor in reports published in 1969, made it apparent that further research and more accurate documentation would be necessary before solutions to the problems brought out during the committee hearings could be found.

The Migrant Research Project of the Manpower Evaluation and Development Institute and the Division of Family Services, Department of Health and Social Services, State of Wisconsin undertook to provide the documentation necessary. The demonstration study was initiated in the summer of 1969. The purpose of the study was to provide a more specific indication as to the extent and cause of the problems of hunger and malnutrition among the migrant families working in the stream and to determine, if, under optimum conditions, migrants could receive necessary assistance through existing programs as presently structured.

The Migrant Research Project provided funds for emergency food services, when needed. The study involved 6 counties in the central portion of Wisconsin, where the highest cencentration of migrants would be for the summer months. The total sample included 381 families, consisting of some 2200 individuals.

Final conclusions based on the data presented have not as yet been formulated. A special report written jointly by the Migrant Research Project and the Division of Family Services, Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services will be published within the near future. Copies will be available from either agency.

It can be stated at this time however, that due to the joint project the increase in migrants served in one county alone by the food program increased 300%. The increase in the other counties studied also showed equally astounding increases. It is hoped this report will provide at least a part of the information needed to modify the existing programs or to design new ones to meet the specific needs of the migratory worker, compatible to the goals for service presented in the Senate Subcommittee report.

As brought out in the Subcommittee report, one of the problems migrants frequently faced is hunger and malnutrition. Unstable characteristics of the farming industry combined with encroaching mechanization dictates the financial insecurity of the migrant group.

The project was conducted in Adams, Columbia, Green Lake, Portage, Marquette, and Waushara counties. These counties were jointly selected by the State of Wisconsin and the Migrant Research Project because of the concentration of migrants in the area as well as the implementation of three different types of food programs. Counties with food stamp programs were Adams, Marquette and Columbia. Commodity Distribution counties were Waushara and Portage, while Green Lake county had neither program at that time, but since the project had ended, has implemented the Commodity Distribution program. Additionally, the project utilized 6 other counties as a control group. They were the food stamp counties of Door and Milwaukee and the Commodity Distribution counties of Oconto, Kenosha, Waupaca and Dane.

The migrant families who participated in the study applied for emergency food services during the months of June, July, or August. The average size of the family (See Figure 1) was six persons. The average stated income was between $2,000 and $2,400. (See Figure 4). The average stated monthly income for the preceding month was between $300 and $400 per family. This relatively high figure can be accounted for by the fact that the migrants in the Wisconsin project areas accrue approximately 49% of the total annual income during the three summer months of his greatest employment. The balance of the annual income is accrued over the remaining nine month period from both farm and non-farm sources.

Project Families Annual Income - Family Size of 4 or More

	# of families	%
$999 or less	24	13.2%
$1,000 - $1,999	71	39.0%
$2,000 - $3,999	83	45.6%
$4,000 - or more**	14	7.7%
Not given total	93	
	285	100%

**Top Income $6,000

It is quite evident, even from our preliminary calculations, that any consideration of a migrant's monthly income out of the content of annual income is likely to be grossly misleading. For this reason, the current food stamp program and other resources of public assistance, which have eligibility requirements based on monthly income levels, are often not available to the migrant. In Wisconsin, for example, the allowable monthly income for a family of six is $350. Since the average stated income for the previous month, according to initial calculations, is between $300 and $400, it is conceivable that some of the families could have been ruled ineligible for services because of income requirements even though their annual income was far below the index of poverty.

The figures on amount of expenses and financial commitments incurred by the migrant families in the study are not yet available. It would appear, however, that one of the primary reasons for needing emergency assistance during the summer months is because most of the income is applied to debts incurred during the previous year, or as a cost of traveling to the worksite and cost of maintaining the work crew instream. Although it was apparent that the weather conditions were a major contributor to the problems in Wisconsin last summer, there were undoubtedly other variables which are emerging from the data, which were also important casual factors.

An analysis of the data in one county where 313 families received commodity foods for a two-week period from July 16, to August 1, 1969 revealed the following information:

Average Size Family	-	6.1 members
Number reporting debts on houses, cars, hospital etc.	-	111 - 85%
Number with funds in bank	-	1 - $200.00 1 - $300.00 1 - $1,000.00
Number receiving welfare in Texas	-	3

One of the target areas of the pilot study was information on the number of migrants participating in welfare programs and other existing services availab le, as well as the emergency food services.

The most frequently received service by those migrants included in the sampling, was surplus food commodities. (See Fig. 5). Not quite 50% of the migrant families surveyed were receiving, or had received, surplus commodities from the counties. The next most frequently utilized service was the HEW Health Program in which almost 20% of the families indicated they had participated. It is important to note that other services purportedly available to needy people, such as welfare, Medicaid, School Lunch, Medicare, and Head Start did not have a large migrant participation.

It should be emphasized again that the figures included are based on the preliminary tabulations and not intended to be construed as being statistically final at this point. However, information tabulated thus far, seems to coroborate the findings of the Senate Subcommittee report. It would appear that, as suggested in the Subcommittee report, there is a pressing need for modification of some of the existing programs, or to create new programs which would be designed to fit the needs of the migrant population. In the Wisconsin project, it was clearly demonstrated that it is illconceived to attempt to incorporate into present structures designed to meet the needs of a resident population, citizens of a mobile nature. This is true of all the major public institutions. It is especially true in welfare agencies. It was also made apparent that further studies in more specific areas are called for to provide efficient administration of any programs initiated.

Based upon the 1969 Wisconsin summer food project and the difficulties encountered in its implementation, it is the recommendation of the Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Family Services and the Migrant Research Project that the United States Congress enact legislation to ensure equal benefits of welfare assistance to all its citizens. It is further the recommendation that this be accomplished by the enactment of uniform standards of eligibility and benefits for all Federally assisted programs in all states.

Tabulations

The statistical data for the survey is presented in bar graph form, based on percentages. All percentages in the graphs have been rounded to the nearest whole percent, and for this reason slight errors due to rounding may be noted. Figures included in the tables are those figures actually derived from the survey data. Formula used computing the median for the income figures is as follows: $\left(\frac{N - }{1+2\ FB\ i.}\right)$ All graphs were hand drawn and were not intended to be construed as anything other than graphic representation from an estimated scale.

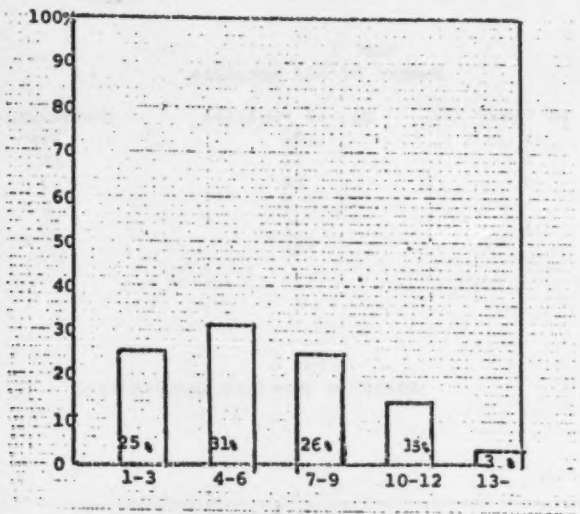


Fig. 1
Percentage Distribution-(Family Size)

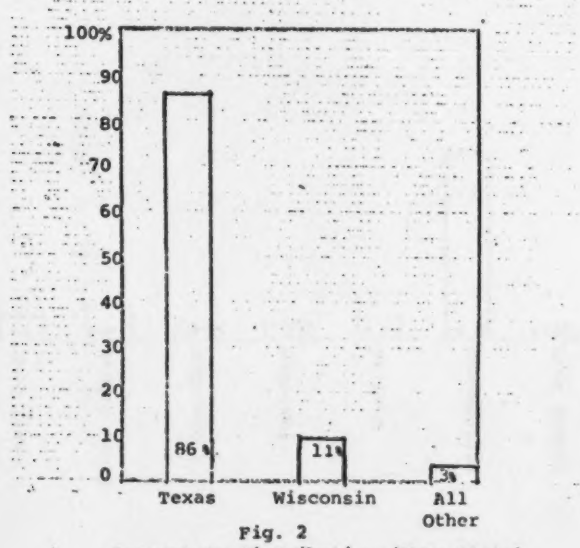


Fig. 2
Percentage Distribution-(Home State)

Table 2

Family Size	No. of Families	Total Individuals
Singles	25	25
2	30	60
3	36	108
4	41	164
5	44	220
6	34	204
7	42	294
8	37	296
9	22	198
10	17	170
11	19	289
12	16	192
13	4	52
14	3	42
15	3	45
16	0	0
17	2	34
	375	2,393

Not responding 6
Average family size = 6.1 persons

Table 3

Home State	Number of Families
Texas	330
Wisconsin	38
Florida	2
Oklahoma	2
California	1
Colorado	1
New Mexico	1
Washington	1
Puerto Rico	1
Mexico	1
	378
Not responding	3
	381

Table 4

Amount of Monthly Income ($)	No. of Families
0-99	130
100-199	56
200-299	43
300-399	39
400-499	12
500-599	22
600-699	11
700-799	6
800-899	7
900-000	5
1000-	10
	341
Not responding	40
Median income $172	381

Table 5

Amount of Annual Income ($)	No. of Families
0-499	14
500-999	33
1000-1499	46
1500-1999	43
2000-2499	52
2500-2999	15
3000-3499	29
3500-	16
	249
Not responding	132
Median income $1,866	381

Fig. 3
Percentage Distribution-(monthly income)

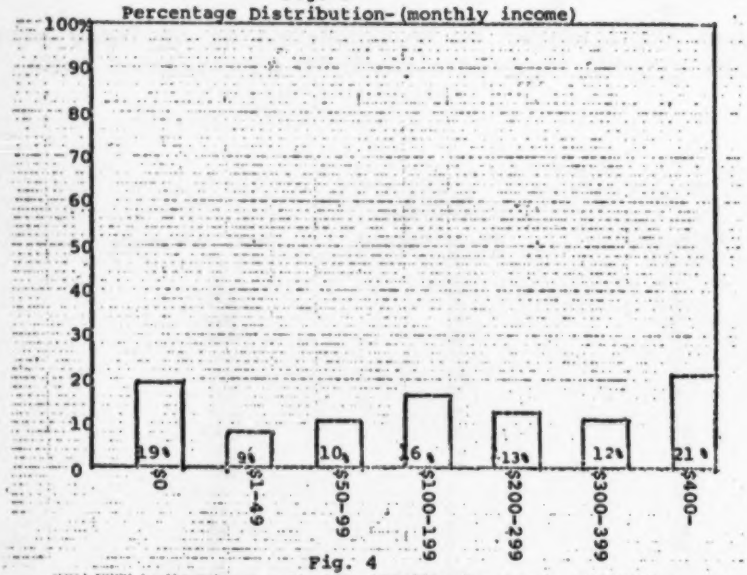


Fig. 4
Percentage Distribution-(annual income)

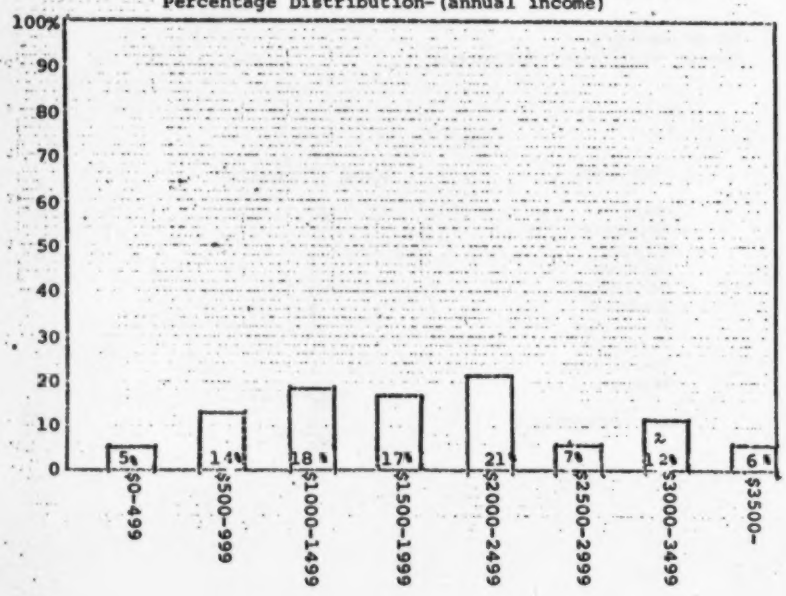


Table 6

Services	No.of Families Receiving	Not Receiving	Total
Commodities	157	223	380
Welfare	19	361	380
Medicare	16	364	380
Medicaid	12	368	380
School Lunch	32	346	380
Head Start	24	354	378
HEW Health	69	311	380

Table 7
Comparison of Distributed Foods

	Number of Migrants Reported by WSES	Receiving Emergency Food
1. Waushara	3300	1272
2. Portage	900	342
3. Oconto	950	186
4. Kenosha	155	204*
5. Door	900	30
6. Marquette	650	60
7. Waupaca	325	12
8. Dane	150	6
Total	7,330 (WSES)	2,286 (MRP)

*Included seasonal workers

MRP provides Emergency Food Services to 32% of reported migrant pop. in above counties.

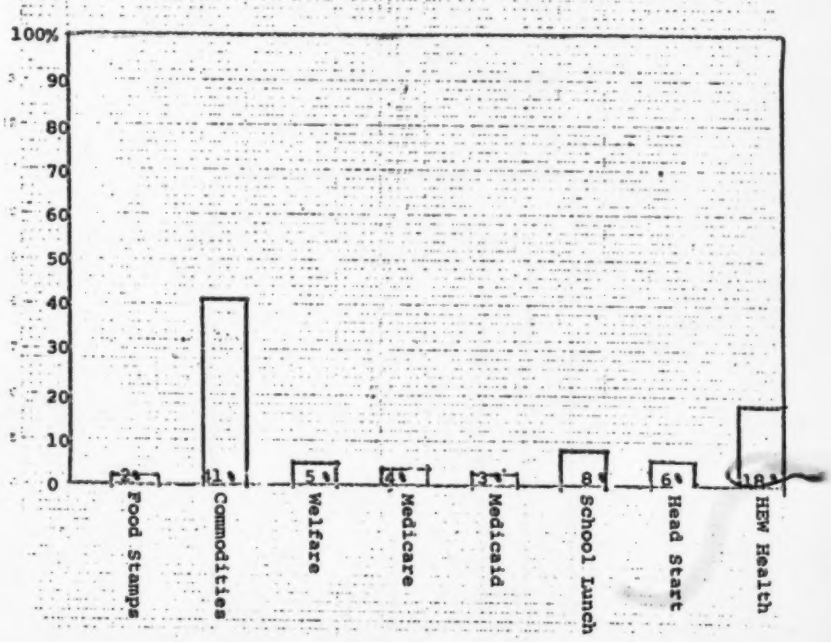
Table 8
Distribution in Age Groups

Age Groups by Families	# of Individuals
0-3	270
4-6	410
7-11	377
12-14	262
15-16	172
17-21	283
22-44	266
45-64	84
65-	7
	2,131

Tab. 1
Number of Aid Receipts

No. of Times Rec.	No. of Families	Percentage
1	289	76%
2	76	20
3	12	3
4	3	1
5	1	0
	381	100%

Fig. 5
Services Received (percentage)



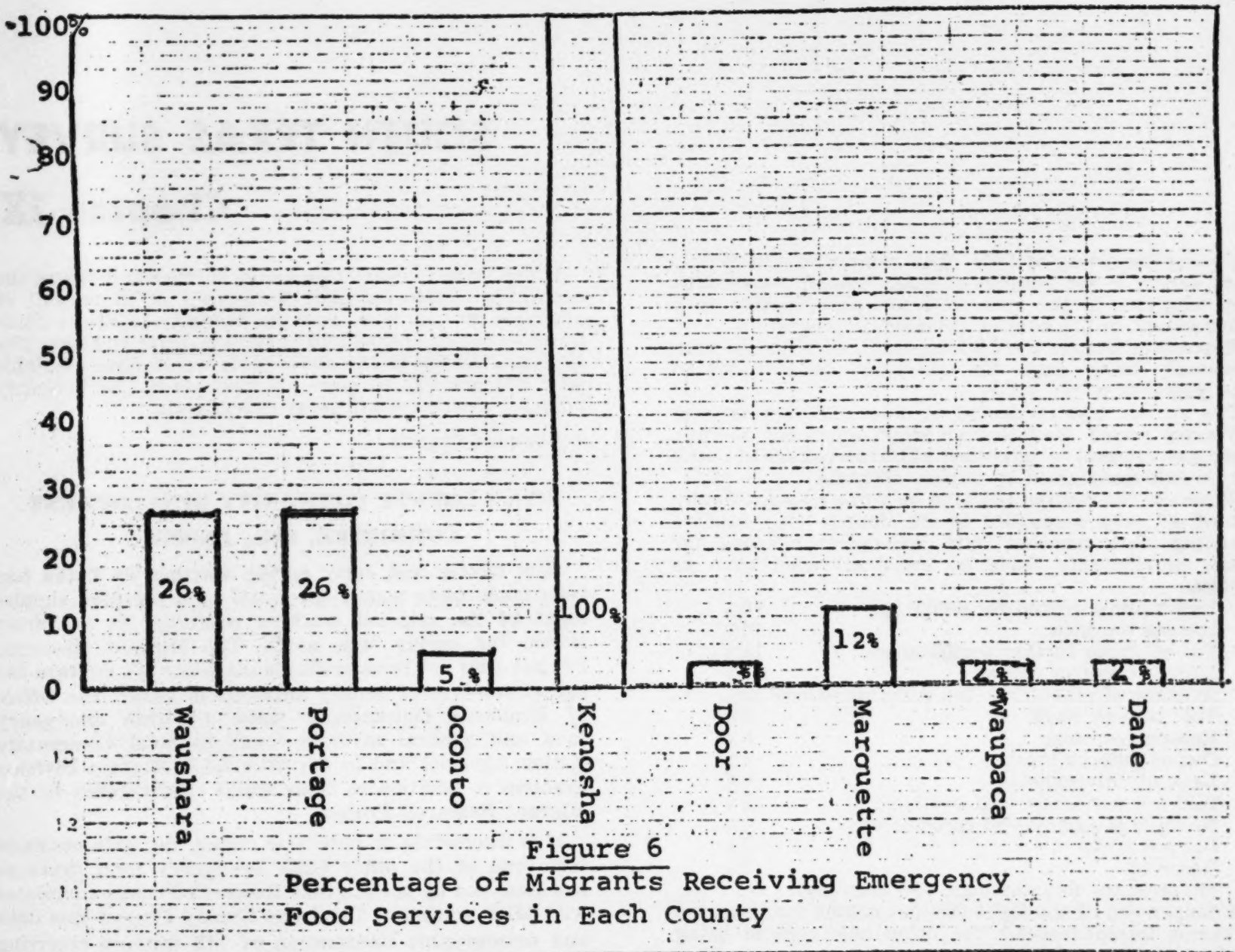


Figure 6

Percentage of Migrants Receiving Emergency Food Services in Each County

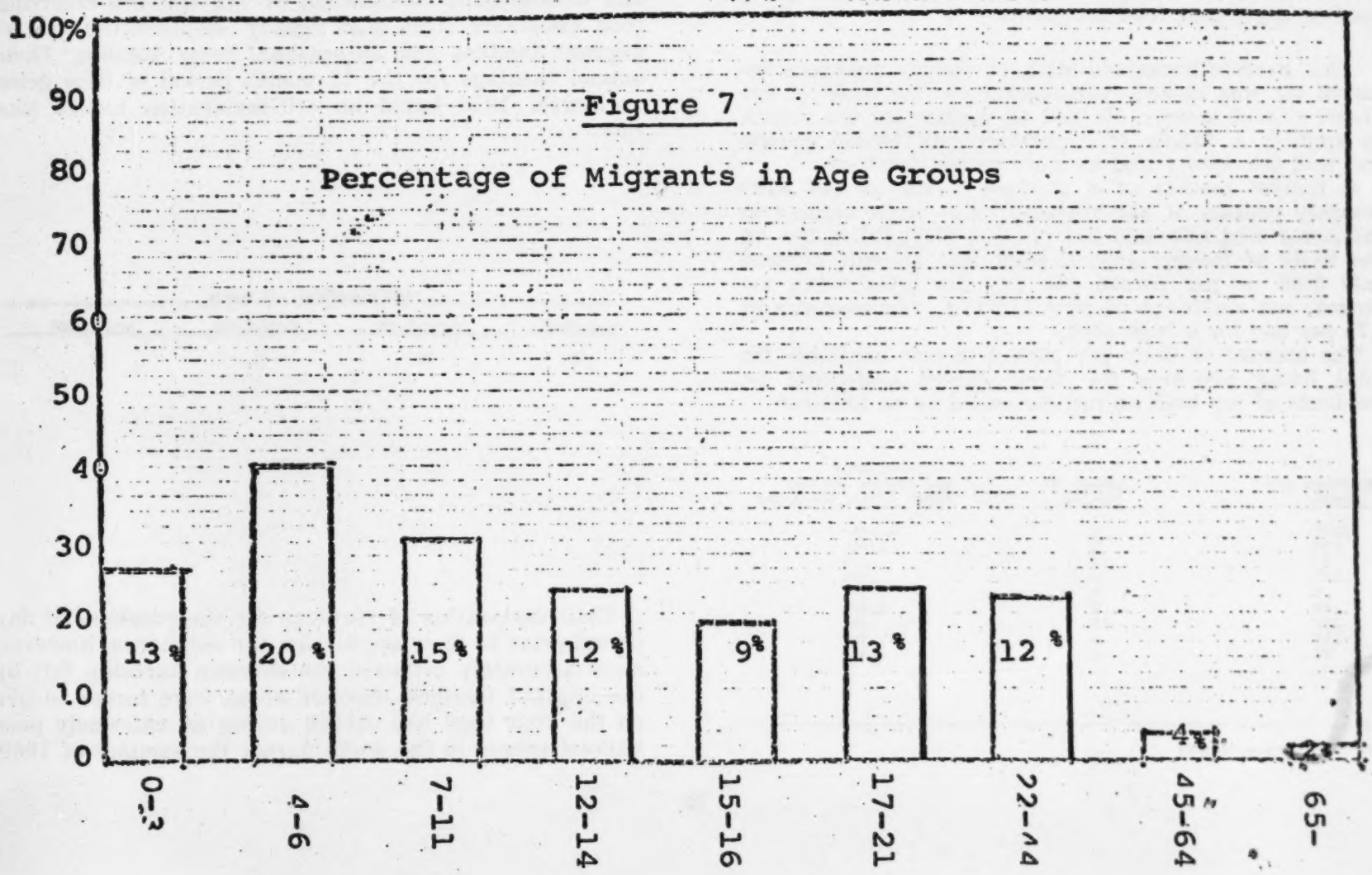


Figure 7

Percentage of Migrants in Age Groups

SOUTH TEXAS SURVEY

Chapter IX

During the spring of 1969, MRP conducted a brief one-week survey in six counties of south Texas to determine why migrants in the area were not participating to a fuller extent in the surplus commodity program.

Reports of hunger were widespread and requests were repeatedly being made for emergency MRP funds to feed migrants in the valley.

The survey was conducted by migrant workers over a five-day period. No follow-up effort was made nor was there any attempt to interview welfare workers to check the records maintained by welfare officials.

However, the results indicated only one migrant family out of 49, who responded in the door-to-door random sampling were received food assistance. Reasons for denial of eligibility listed by those surveyed were as follows:

Didn't know reason for denial	18%
Income too high	16%
Cut-off from further certification	14%
Lacked proof of income	12%
Attitude of officials — too many questions	12%
Told to seek work	6%
Reason not clear	6%
Owned auto or truck	4%
Lack of citizenship[14]	4%
Told not sufficient food available	2%
No child in family—no commodities	2%
Did not apply	2%
Received	2%

(Represents 49 samplings, 150 answers)

A breakdown of the eight families denied food because of excess income reveals the unrealistic criteria being used to implement food programs.

One head-of-household with 10 family members reported he was denied certification on the basis of his $1,000 annual income. He had no income for the month he applied. A family of 7 persons with $3,000 income was told the county had no more money for food.

A tearful mother of 8 children living on the $180 monthly pension of her husband killed while serving in the Army was also told her pension disqualified her on the basis of income even though this amount allowed only $.66 + per person per day for total living expenses; not sufficient to meet U.S.D.A. requirements of $.75 per day for a basic diet.

The amount of daily per person income available for total living expenses for those denied assistance on the basis of too high an income would be as follows*

Earnings per Month	Number in Family	Available per Person per Day Total Living Expenses
$200	9	$ .7+
150	5	1.00
83	10	.27+
180	9	.66+
0	4	0
60	2	1.00
192	10	.64
145	9	.53+
70	5	.46+

(14) Not a requirement

If one were to carry this a step further and figure the amount available for daily food costs as 20 percent of available income, it is clear the enormity of the problem faced by malnourished and hungry migrant workers. The average migrant in the above table would have available only 10¢ per day to meet his food needs. No economy plan yet developed will meet this criteria.

* Rounded figures

LYNN COUNTY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE, INC., PROJECT

Late winter and early spring weather in Texas has been made more accute the usual need for food supplement of the migrant workers wintering in the state before the spring trek north. The Migrant Research Project does not have available statistics too indicate the actual numbers of hungry migrants in Texas. The Office of Economic Opportunity made available emergency food and medical services funds to local Community Action Agencies and to the Title III-B Migrant Division grantees in addition to those funds administered by the Migrant Research Project.

It is interesting to note how closely the data obtained from one of the other OEO emergency food grantees and analyzed by the Migrant Research Project correlates with MRP statistics. The Lynn County Project raw data and demographic information of 149 families receiving food assistance from that agency. Represented are 98 migrant families and 58 seasonal farm families. Their annual earnings for the 12 month period of time prior to March, 1970 based on self-declaration looked like this:

		Family Earnings - 12 months	
One $1000	$1000-2000	$2000-3000	Over $3000
17	36	59	37

Their declaration of earnings for the previous 30 day period prior to their application for assistance, however, more accurately reflected the extreme hardship felt by the migrant families, most of whom were forced to live on the little they had earned during an extremely poor harvest season in the north during the summer of 1969.

FAMILY EARNINGS - ONE MONTH PERIOD PRIOR TO APPLICATION FOR ASSISTANCE						
	Over $300	$250-$300	$150-$250	$100-$150	Below $100	-0-
# of family units	5	18	39	14	56	17

The size of the family and the ages of the family members must be considered in determining the amount of food necessary to maintain the family at a proper nutritional level. From the above table, it is easy to note that only 5 families had an income greater than $300 prior to the month when a request for assistance was made. Of these 5 families, 2 had 11 members in their household, 2 had 10 members each in their household, and the other had 6 members.

An analysis of the 17 families who declared they had no earnings or income during the 30 day period prior to application for assistance revealed 1 with 10 family members, 3 families with 9 members, 3 with 7 members. All but 5 of these 17 families indicated they had applied to public welfare for assistance, but had been rejected for a variety of reasons. One family with 5 members were told they could not receive assistance because the size of the family was too small to qualify for the program! Another family with 7 members, headed by a 20 year old unmarried son had been without food for 5 days. Still the boy was told by the welfare officials that he should work to support his family. Some of the families who had not applied for assistance from public welfare indicated they had not done so because the welfare officials spoke only English and they understood only Spanish. Others did not have the necessary transportation available to pick up the commodities. A number of the no income and low-income families reported they had been refused assistance by the public welfare officials because they were **MIGRANTS !**

A look at the annual income of the 17 families who listed no income for the 30 days prior to application for emergency food varies from $500 for a family of 7 persons to $3,800 for a family of 5 persons. One family of 9 persons, with 3 persons over the age of 16 years, had an annual income of $1,000; while the other two families who listed 9 members each, (with only 3 members 16 years of age or older) listed an annual income of $2,500.

Family size for the 149 migrant or seasonal farm worker families who received emergency food assistance from the Lynn County Community Development Committee was as shown in the following table.

UNITS BY NUMBER IN FAMILY					
1	2-4	5-7	8-10	11-13	14 and over
3	37	46	47	16	0

AGES OF FAMILY MEMBERS						
years	0-5	6-15	16-21	22-44	45-64	65 +
# of individuals	75	445	97	81	89	7

Of the 149 family units representing 794 individuals reflected in the above tables, only 7 families indicated they were receiving food assistance other than commodities, and only 23 family units were participating even irregularly in the commodity distribution program! This means that only 20% of the hungry migrants who should have been eligible to receive commodities, actually were able to receive any food assistance other than that available to them through the emergency food program of OEO. Other assistance programs made an equally poor record.

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANT FAMILIES SURVEYED PARTICIPATING IN PROGRAMS					
Food Ass't	Commodity	School Lunch	Welfare	Social Security	Head-Start
5%	15%	31%	3%	5%	1%

Even though the School Lunch program made the best showing, many of the students indicated they were receiving a reduced price lunch, or that they were allowed to **receive school lunch on credit, but that when a family member was able to find work, they must repay for lunches received.** Still other families who applied for free school lunches were turned down because **the school system had exceeded their set quota of students** who could participate in the school lunch program.

A difficulty experienced by many of the elderly migrants was lack of citizenship. On woman of 66 years of age was being supported by her 20 year old granddaughter who had an annual salary of $ 1,500 and listed only 70 income during the 30 day period prior to applying for emergency food assistance. She was denied old age assistance because of her lack of citizenship even though she had been a resident of the United States for 60 years!

All in all the reasons for denial for public assistance were many and varied. One family was certified for participation in the comodity distribution program and received foodstuffs twice, however, the eligibility was cancelled when the weather turned "nice". They were told that **as long as the weather was "nice" they could not receive 'help".**

One of the most heartbreaking reasons given for denying assistance, was to a family of 9 persons, headed by a 40 year old male with 6 children. His wife's sister lived with the family unit. Welfare officials purportedly told the family that in order to receive assistance, they would have to ask the sister to leave their home since this added to their expenses. Assistance would not be granted any other way!

Year Round Assistance

Because the Migrant Research Project is a national project, it was possible to trace some travel and earning patterns of several of the families who required emergency food assistance both while in a stream state and while in the homebase state during the winter.

Typical of these was the family headed by 40 year old W———— V———— who worked the asparagus fields in Southern Minnesota in 1967.

This 10 member household wintered in Plainview, Texas and were recruited through the Texas Employment Security Commission on April 21, 1969. The official U.S. Department of Labor form No. 369 (see copy) lists

6 workers in the family; none under the age of 16 years.

The family enrolled their young children in a Day Care, Headstart, and Little I Center operated by an MRP grantee.

The father listed his annual income for the previous year at $1,000 at the time they began picking asparagus. Because every hand counts for both migrant and company when the "peak season" began, everyone in the family with the exception of the 2-year-old and the 7-year-old worked. It is interesting to note the ages of the family members as listed on the family history sheet of the school center. In actuality, two of the "workers" were under the age of 16 years and not "over 16" as certified by the U.S. Department of Labor (see photo). The family also listed 7 members as being workers with the school center. Mr. V———— in responding to the MRP worker survey, stated that his children were recruited by the Employment Security representative, that he was not asked their ages, and that they were promised the same rate of pay as the adults in the family. The school records showed that only the 4 youngest children enrolled at the center; the 12 and 15 year olds did not enroll.

A further inspection of school records show all too well the effects of the life style patterns of migrant children.

P————, age 11, was tested by school officials and found to be in the 3rd grade. His parents stated he had attended school only 4 months the past year. In seven weeks he improved one whole grade in his Botel Reading Test.

J————, age 8, placement test indicated this child operated on a first grade level and did not yet know her alphabet. Socially withdrawn, at school she played mainly with her sister. Difficulty with the English language.

M————, age 7, school records indicated this child was rather withdrawn. Wrote her teacher, "Much of the time she just sits, too tired to do much of anything . . . I discovered with 6 brothers, she has to get up very early to help around the house. This could be the main reason for her 'laziness.' I try to see the she rests everyday and she usually falls right to sleep."

L————, age 2, understood very little English. Adjustment to other children difficult at enrollment, soon he played well with others. By the end of the term, he became aware of sizes, shapes and colors.

At the time of recruitment, Mr. V———— signed a promisory note and was given a cash advance of $300. The family was promised rent-free housing, free medical attention, and company issued coupon books which were redeemable for food. Deductions were taken from his weekly check, however, he rarely undrstood what these deductions were to cover.

On July 4, 1969, the family left the asparagus fields. It is believed they returned directly to Texas. However, on April 13, 1970, the V———— family again sought and received food assistance from the MRP grantee. At this time they stated Mr. V———— was unable to find work and his earnings for the previous 12 month period was $1,300!

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
Form ES 223 (1-68) (ADP Test)

AGRICULTURAL WORKER SCHEDULE

(File Farm File)

Page — of —

1. ORIGINATING LOCAL OFFICE	a. Date	b. Region Code	c. State Code	d. L. O. No.	e. Local Office Address	f. Phone (Include Area Code)	g. Name of ES representative
	4-21-69	VIII	46	0671	P.O. Drawer E Plainview, Texas 79072	806 296-7651	TURCS, Louis R.

2. GROUP IDENTIFICATION

a. Group Type: ☐ 1. Crew ☒ 2. Family ☐ 3. Individual or Unorganized group

b. Leader's LAST name (in caps), first name and middle initial. (Include nickname, if any): V——— III G.

c. Social Security No.: 464-52-7553

3. FEDERAL CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION: ☐ a. Yes ☒ b. No

d. Permanent or home base address (Number, street, city, state, and zip code): 941½ East 24th St Plainview, Tex. — State Code: 46

e. Home phone (Include Area Code):

4. LEADER FUNCTIONS (Check)

a. Supervises	b. Transports	c. Pays	d. Assumes Social Security respons.
X	X		

ITINERARY

*Service and Status Codes for col. A: 1. Schedule 2. Revised Schedule 3. Job Request (Comments required) 4. Self-commitment 5. Home-based 6. Other (Specify)

A. SERVICE AND STATUS CODE	B. DATES (Month and Day) From	C. To	D. EMPLOYER'S NAME, CITY AND STATE, AND PHONE NO. (If job request, specify work and preference in Columns E-G)	CLEARANCE ORDER NO. E. Region	F. State Code	G. Local Office No.	H. Local Order No.	I. CROP AND TASK ACTIVITY	GROUP COMPOSITION J. Total Individuals Cols. K & O	K. Total Cols. L-N (WORKERS)	L. 16 and over Male	M. 16 and over Fem.	N. Under 16	O. Total Cols. P-R (NONWORKERS)	P. Over 16	Q. 6-16	R. Under 6	HOUSING REQUIREMENTS S. Total Family Units	T. Unattached Male	U. Unattached Fem.
5	1-1	4-21	Various CROPS				Farm Work													
1	4-20	7-4	Owatonna Canning Co. 108 W. Hoeln St. Owatonna, MINN. 507-451-7070	V	Minn	640	A4	Asparagus	11	6	5	1	0	5	0	5	0	2	0	0
5	7-4	12-31	Disband																	

COMMENTS (Include contingent conditions of employment. Continue on additional sheets of paper if necessary. Include leader's name and Social Security No. on all attached sheets.)

MIGRANT ACTION PROGRAM

Date 5/13/69

Grower _____ Area Center Olivehurst

Grower _____ County _____

Grower O. _____ Co. County Steele

Location of Camp Cashman

Family Name V _____ Date Arrived May 1, 69

Home Base Plainview, Texas Date Left Area July 4, 69

911½ East 24th Street Travel Pattern Minn-Texas

Seasonal _____ Migrant X Out-Migrant _____

Religion Catholic Number of years in area 1

Social Security Number 464-52-9553 Citizenship U.S.

Individuals in Family	Sex	Birth Date	Age	Educational Level	English Fluency	Worker or Non-worker
W	M		39	1st	NO	W.
S	F		39	6th	"	W
J	M.		17	7	Yes	W
W Jr	M.		16	7	"	W
V	M		15	7	"	W
J	M		12	4	"	W
J	M	4/27/1955	11	3	"	W
J	F	10/9/1960	8	1st	"	NW
J M	F	3/28/1962	7	1st	"	NW
L	M	11/20/1966	2	—	—	NW

Total 10

Remarks Father illiterate

Family Income 1000

Poverty Line 4500

Amount Under 3500

Welfare _____

Referral received _____

Referral sent _____

Number in age groups	M	F
under 1		
1 through 4	1	
aged 5		
6 Through 14	2	2
aged 15	1	
16 Through 19	2	
20 and 21		
22 through 44	0	1
45 through 64		
65 and older		

Total Workers 7

Total Non-workers 3

Months in area

Jan ___ Feb ___ Mar ___

Apr X May X Jun X

Jul ___ Aug ___ Sep ___

Oct ___ Nov ___ Dec ___

Submitted By T.O.

Chapter X — SPECIAL HOUSING SURVEY

The conditions which migrant workers encounter as they move from state to state has been described as a serious crime. Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., in the forward, entitled "Crime in the Fields," of the 1969 Report by the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor1, cites Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary in defining what constitutes a crime — "a gross violation of human law; any aggravated offense against morality." The 1969 Report, while considering the entire spectrum of "crimes in the field" afflicting migrant workers and their families, focused upon one of the most acute problems facing the migrant worker; the home in which he lives while in the stream.

The seriousness of the crime may be measured by the number of people which are affected, i.e., the number of victims. In 1968, approximately 279,000 people were migrant farm workers2. Most of these workers travel in family groups so that the total number of people traveling in the migrant labor stream may be as high as one million. If the poor conditions of camps are as widespread as studies tend to indicate, then nearly all of the migrants are afflicted.

In discussing the problem with government officials, both federal and state, it became very apparent that despite the numerous surveys and reports, very little was inside migrant labor camps. Although there was a general belief that the camps were bad, how bad was not actually known. The Migrant Research Project believed that it was necessary to gather and present data which would reflect the condition of the camps as accurately as possible.

During the summer of 1969, the Migrant Research Project, with the cooperation of the United Migrants for Opportunity, Inc. (UMOI) conducted an intensive survey of migrant housing in the State of Michigan. Michigan was chosen because of the large numbers of migrant workers who enter the state each year in search of agricultural employment. It is estimated that between 50,000 to 100,000 migrant laborers annually come to Michigan from other states, primarily Texas, in search of employment. Approximately 3,100 camps, located throughout the state, provide housing for these workers.

The purpose of the study conducted by the Migrant Research Project was to identify and document those aspects of migrant housing which could be corrected by enforcement of existing laws and regulations. It was believed that a major reason why the problems of migrant workers have not been met is in large part, due to the lack of specific information and statistics. Thus, a methodology of research was devised which would satisfy the objectives of the study.

Methodology

A simplified inspection sheet was designed which would enable staff members of UMOI, an OEO Title III-B project, to observe and record the conditions which they found to exist in migrant labor camps in Michigan. Since the OMOI has offices located in various parts of the state, this enabled a more balanced geographical distribution in the survey sample.

The questions on the inspection sheet were also designed to provide information revealing the existence of violations of the Michigan Housing Regulations promulgated and enforced by the Michigan Department of Public Health as well as the Federal Regulations set by the U.S. Department of Labor. Since most of the states have enacted regulations similar to those of the USDL, the inspection sheet was used in other states as well.

A table of random numbers was not used in the selection of the camps which were inspected because at the time the survey was commenced, a total list of camps was not available. A second reason was the time and cost factor in preparing such a list. Futhermore, the camps are spread throughout the state and are often difficult to find. When found, it is often impossible to get permission from the operator to enter the camps. For these reasons, the inspections were made on the basis of information and knowledge of camp locations known to the UMOI from their extensive contacts with migrant workers throughout the state. No attempt was made to single out the worst camps. The results of the survey appear to be quite reliable. Since the questionnaires were also used as the basis for inquiry to the Michigan Department of Public Health and the Michigan Employment Security Commission, it is possible that more than the proportionate number of "bad camps" are included. To compensate for that possibility, when analyzing the questionnaires for violations of federal and state regulations, all doubts were resolved in favor of the non-violation.

By the end of the summer, 148 camps had been inspected, approximately six percent of the licensed camps in Michigan. These survey camps were located among 23 counties on the lower Michigan peninsula where the bulk of Michigan's migrant population are employed. The occupant size of the camps ranged anywhere from six to 261 and the total number of migrants living in all of the survey camps totaled in excess of 5,000 persons.

The data collected from the camps which comprised the survey group provided a firm foundation for analysis of housing conditions in Michigan's migrant labor camps. Before turning to a discussion of the findings, it is initially important to understand the regulations set by the Michigan Department of Public Health as well as the federal regulations set by the USDA.

State and Federal Housing Regulations Governing Migrant Labor Camps

In an attempt to protect the health and safety of migrants recruited through state employment agencies, the federal government established guidelines for minimum standards of habitability of migrant labor camps (Title 20 CFR Sec. 620). These regulations apply whenever an employer seeks the assistance of the state employment agency (in this case, the Michigan Employment Security Commission) in the interstate recruitment of workers in agriculture, foods, and related industry. These regulations, therefore, apply with particular force to migrant workers.

According to the procedures set forth in the Federal regulations, a grower (employer) who solicits the Michigan Employment Security Commission in recruiting farm workers from outside the state must state that the labor camp which he operates conforms to the minimum housing standards set by the USDA. No inspection or other proof is required, although an inspection of the camp is required thirty days prior to the arrival of the workers. If it is found that the housing conditions do not meet the federal requirements, the employer will be denied further recruitment assistance and the present work order will be canceled.

The Bureau of Employment Security is given the duty of enforcing the federal regulations and the power to deny its recruitment facilities to persons who fail to comply with them. Unfortunately, the administrative structure of the Bureau of Employment Security ensures confusion as to the enforcement of the regulations. The state agencies affiliated with the U.S. Employment Service are charged with administering the federal regulations governing compliance by the camp operators. However, the state agencies often have an inadequate number of inspection personnel; and must, therefore, rely on the camp owner's statement when they grant certification for the camp and process the clearance order for the workers. Often the Bureau of Employment Security relies on the State Health Department to make inspections. Furthermore, in some instances, it is known that state employment agencies have failed to deny recruitment facilities to persons who do not comply with the regulations.

The effect of cancelling the work order is often a futile gesture since the workers are already arriving into the camp or are en route. Consequently, the enforcement scheme poses no immediate obstacle to the operator; he is already guaranteed having workers to harvest the current season's crop and, at the same time, is not under any compulsion to make the necessary corrections to bring the camp into compliance with the minimum standards. Furthermore, by the time the revocation procedure is completed, the season may already be completed and the workers are on their way again; off to a new camp.

Field observation would indicate that the enforcement procedures available to the Bureau of Employment Security, either denial of recruitment facilities and cancellation of work orders, is not an effective means for gaining compliance. The fact is that many workers who arrive into the camps were not recruited through the State employment agency; and, therefore, the federal regulations do not apply. For these workers, their only recourse is to the Michigan laws and the regulations promulgated by the State Department of Public Health.

The provisions governing minimum housing standards on migrant labor camps in Michigan are covered by Public Act 289 of 1965 and by the regulations promulgated under that act by the Department of Public Health. Public Act 289 created the Agricultural Labor Camp Unit (ULCU) within the Division of Engineering in the Department of Engineering in the Department of Public Health which was given jurisdiction to issue licenses to any agricultural labor camp occupied by five or more migratory workers. The Commissioner of the ALCU will issue a license to camp operators only, if after investigation and inspection, he finds that the camp conforms to the minimum housing standards which are set forth in the regulations.

As it was pointed out earlier, federal regulations established by the United States Department of Labor set **minimum** standards. States are prevented from enacting regulations allowing less stringent regulations than those set by USDL only in those cases where workers are recruited for employment through the Employment Security Commission. Otherwise, states are not required to set any higher standards. Michigan departs very little from the federal regulations and has adopted federal standards almost verbatum. The inspection sheet utilized in this study restated the Michigan regulations in the interrogatory and thus permitted an analysis of violations under both Federal and State law.

The regulations themselves establish minimum standards of construction, health, sanitation, sewage, water supply, plumbing, garbage and rubbish disposal. The agency enforcing the Michigan housing regulations is the ALCU. The problems this agency encounters in enforcing the regulations roughly parallels those which are faced by the Bureau of Employment Security in enforcing the federal guidelines. One of the major problems they face is lack of personnel. The ALCU staff consists of a program director, six full-time regional sanitarians, and six seasonal camp inspectors. This small staff is unable to effectively police the 3,100 labor camps for code violations.

Although there are provisions in the Act for suspension or revocation of a license, the time in which it takes to litigate these proceedings renders them totally ineffective vehicles for enforcement. If violations are reported to the Commissioner of the ALCU, he must set a hearing and give notice to the camp operator at least 10 days prior to the date of the hearing, before any action can be taken. If, at the hearing, it is found that the complaint is valid, the aggrieved camp operator may appeal that decision to the courts and thereby gain a further delay in correcting the violations. As pointed out earlier in this report, by the time the process reaches the final stage, the migrant workers will have probably harvested the crop and departed for a new camp.

This vicious circle of ineffective enforcement is also enhanced by provisions in the Act which allow for a provisional license when the agricultural labor camp does not comply with all the provisions of the regulations. A temporary license may be issued for up to 3 months. A second waiver may be allowed; however, not more than two consecutive temporary licenses may be issued. The camp operator who receives a waiver must formally agree to a definite improvement program to correct the deficiencies that exist. Usually by the time he is required to make the improvements, the workers have left the camp.

Who is left to complain that the operator did not make the agreed upon changes? After the workers are gone, the problem in enforcing both the federal and state regulations pertaining to minimum housing standards for migrant camps in Michigan set the stage for possible code violations. Attention of this report is now focused upon the camps inspected to determine whether this was, in fact, true.

Preliminary Observations on Housing Conditions in Michigan Migrant Labor camps

An initial observation of the camps in Michigan concerned the failure on the part of the camp operators to properly display their licenses. Licenses must be displayed in a "conspicuous place" within the camp area. Nevertheless, of the 148 camps surveyed more than half did not have licenses properly posted. In addition, of those camps where the license was seen, nearly a fourth exceeded the maximum legal occupancy permitted under the license.

The fact that many camp operators were not complying with the simple requirement of showing their licenses is indicative of the widespread violations which were found to exist in the camps. More than half of the families could expect to find themselves in camps with debris about the grounds and with bad drainage – often standing water, which, in the warm summer months, rapidly causes an increase in the mosquito population. The camps were generally supplied with an inadequate number of garbage cans. Fifty-three (53%) percent of the camps in Michigan were reported to have garbage cans not tightly covered. The buildings, which in nearly three-fourths (75%) of the camps surveyed are of the cabin type, were judged structurally unsound or unsanitary. In nearly half (50%) of the camps, the units had rough floors, uncleanable walls, leaky roofs, leaky walls, wet floors, broken screens, faulty doors and missing screens. Each of these defects standing alone, create unsanitary conditions, when considered in conjunction with one another they aggravate the problem enormously.

Although, admittedly, it takes a high degree of technical skill to determine whether or not water is safe to drink, occupants of 15% of the camps surveyed felt that the water supply was unsafe; judgment was based on the color and/or smell, excessive sediment, and the fact that a large number of camp occupants had become ill after drinking the water. In one-fifth of the camps, the wells were located within 75 feet of the privy, a source of possible contamination. In three-fourths of the camps, the occupants must carry their own water. In only 18% of the camps was water piped directly into the living units.

Over 75% of the camps surveyed had inadequately lighted toilet facilities; one-fifth did not have a wall plug in each room; and one did not have electricity in each of its living units. More than one-half of all camps failed to provide adequate yard and pathway lighting.

As the statistics readily indicated, toilets remain one of the greatest hazards in migrant labor camps. More than 90 percent of the toilets in all camps are of the privy type. Privies were classified as unclean and were located too close to where food is prepared or served in 39% of the surveyed camps. Well over half of all the privies were poorly ventilated and less than one-fourth were fly-tight or had toilet paper and holders furnished.

In an environment that constantly exposes the workers to dust, dirt, mud and pesticides, less than a third of the camps surveyed provided adequate laundry facilities. Nearly one-third of the camps had bathing facilities which were judged unclean and unsanitary. Another third of the camps were without any bathing facilities whatsoever. About one-half provided adequate space for hanging and storing clothes.

Nearly 40% of the camps lacked any kind of heating system. The regulations require that camps occupied before May 31 or after September 1 be provided with heating equipment capable of maintaining a temperature of at least 68 degrees. The temperatures in Michigan during the summer months often are well below this. The heating systems which were provided generally consisted of the cooking stoves and other systems which utilized dangerous or volatile fuels, contributing to the fire hazards already in existence. The Michigan regulations stipulates that there be at least two means of escape in one-story dwellings. Only 57% of the camps met this requirement. In addition, less than half were provided with fire extinguishing equipment, which often was only a bucket or hose.

Perhaps one of the most common violations documented, although one of the most difficult to police, is that of overcrowding. More than half of the parents with children over six years old traveling with them are not provided sufficient privacy in the housing furnished them. Migrant workers coming to Michigan generally travel with their families. Recreation facilities are important for the safety of the children, who often are left by themselves in the camp while the rest of the family is in the fields. Such facilities were absent in 37% of the camps surveyed.

One other basic finding merits attention. In those camps housing workers recruited through the assistance of the Michigan Employment Security Commission, violations were found to be fewer than in those camps subject only to the Michigan regulations. Fourteen camps in the survey indicated that the workers were recruited through the federal system. The average violations for this group registered 13.8 per camp as compared to 15.3 per camp for the overall survey group. This indicates that when the camps come under the jurisdiction of the USDL regulations, conditions are somewhat better.

Chapter XI

DIARY OF A SUGAR BEET WORKER

CHAPTER XI – DAIRY OF A SUGAR BEET WORKER

Following is an account of a young college student who entered the migrant stream through the recruitment process in Texas and worked in the sugar beet fields in a mid-west state. The account is true and accurate.

The reader must consider that the writer is a 21 year old male in his third year at Antioch College. Bright and well-educated, the young man elected to enter the "stream" to gain first-hand documentation of the reality of migrancy – facts vs. fiction – and to determine if legal or other rational remedies might exist for the migrants.

He traveled in a crew of 40 hands, plus children and non-workers. Most were friends or relatives of the crew chief. Travel was a private auto plus a large 1967 truck with a bed of about 30' x 8'. The front half was loaded with personal belongings, the back section lined with benches which seated 15 to 20 persons. Their ages ranged from 6 months to about 65 years. The trip took about 44 hours. There was only one rest-stop of approximately an hour; even though the law required vehicles transporting migrants stop from 11 p.m. to 4 a.m.

It is interesting to note that despite the intellectual capacity, knowledge of resources, and the certainty that he could leave the crew whenever the situation became unendurable, that the young man became captive of the same fears of reprisals, and was immobilized by the confusions and complexities of their situation to the extent that he, no more than the migrants, could take positive action to alleviate their plight.

Additionally, weekly reports discussed other grievances encountered by the workers as indicated in the following letter written on June 24:

"We were not told exactly how many rows to an acre – we were not told how to account for the difference in row length when figuring acreage – we were not told the grassy section would be paid differently (and still don't know how much) – we were not instructed to work different sections differently, but do know that more or less work was required to clean up different sections. The shorter rows we were required to do for nothing."

From notes written while and after it happened, I'm going to try and reconstruct the last problems we had with the _____ in B_____, M_____.

Background:

Our crew was supposed to work for _____ at $1.80 an hour doing weeding and spot-thinning behind the new thinner. There was an unseasonable amount of rain during our first three weeks there, and we were thus prevented from working a good deal of the time. Those days that the weather did permit us to work were spent doing hoeing for other growers because _____ told us that his fields still weren't ready or that he hadn't been able to run his new thinner through them yet. Initially, there was a good deal of confusion about wages and how much work there was to be done. (The crew chief had informed the workers they would be paid $25 an acre with 10 rows to the acre.)

On the 27th day of June we began work in a 200 + acre field. We were to work under piece-rate payment system at the "going rate" (or legal minimum) of $15.50 per acre for the first thinning-weeding operation. We were told that the new thinner wouldn't work in that field due to the corn stalks and other protruding elements in the field. They had planned on using the machine there, and by the time we started the field, the beets were already a little bigger than the normal size, thus making the work a little more difficult, a little slower. I was told by a worker and a few others that I should do good work so that the second weeding would be fairly light, fast work.

The owners spent $25,000 or so to buy their equipment; thinner, weeder, etc. Through their own arrangements, or through the company, they also worked the rig in the fields of various other growers in the area. One of these growers had promised his crew of migrants that he would give them 200 acres of beets to work and that he would be using the machinery in other acreages. The crew knew and agreed to this before coming north and had made all plans in accord with it and the grower **has** kept his promise.

Sentiment is not so much against the machine or the process of mechanization; it is directed against the inconsiderate manner in which the transaction is made; the degradation which the migrants are subjected to by the grower. The obvious fact that you are being used to someone else's advantage is a characteristic of the migrant life. But when this fact is not even dimmed nor made less obvious by medium fair salaries, professed grower concern, etc., it is impossible to view the situation without some bitterness.

During the period of time we spent working that field, we lost almost eight days due to rain and wet ground. The grower's policy is not to let his beets be worked when the ground is the least bit wet; other growers in the area leave the decision up to the workers. All the rain added considerably to the size of the beets making the job just a little harder, though certainly not exceptionally so.

During the first hoeing, most of the workers pushed themselves as much as they could endure, though still trying to do very clean work – including scraping the bare spots in the rows so that weeds won't appear there later. Doing work this way requires considerable more time and effort and is performed in this manner almost exclusively for the purpose of facilitating the second weeding.

"La limpia" or the second weeding is held to be the work which yields more favorable to the migrant. This is the operation which makes his time and sweat in the first hoeing worthwhile.

During our first hoeing in this field, several of us wanted to make sure that we were going to do the second hoeing there also. M_____ remembered explicity asking A_____, the crew leader, three times. Each time he was answered with a "tiene que darnosla" – he has to give it to us. His affirmative answer assuaged the doubts, and work continued.

Over a week passed after the completion of the field without the second weeding being mentioned. We were supposed to leave in four or five days, and several people were concerned about winding up, taking care of all our remaining obligations, etc. One of these remaining was the second weeding, which we estimated would take two to three days to finish.

On Friday, June 18, six of us solos were working in that field cleaning up the small section where the machine was tested out and failed to perform well. We were all working pretty close together, discussing our various fields. I asked M_____ if the grower was still going to give us the second weeding there. A_____'s answer to that question was discussed and some doubt over its meaningfulness was expressed. A short time later, E_____, the brains and force of the two grower brothers, stopped by to see if we had found the rows alright and to bring us some water. He told us to take six rows at a time to finish off the section in one "whack". Before he left, I was asked to ask him about the second weeding. When faced with the question, he began to hem and haw in his accustomed manner for facing an unpleasant situation. He hedged for awhile, but finally said "no", and that he didn't intend for a second weeding in that field, especially at that time. With that, he mounted his tractor and drove off; his back being stared at balefully. There soon erupted a conversation which literally smouldered with the righteous anger which each of us felt. We discussed how things had been going in the state, how we had worked very hard in this field, and how this was the only field remaining in which the crew could earn some money. The possibility of bringing up the issue with A_____, the crew chief, cropped up and was quickly, sardonically discarded. Then he and his manner of arranging things (or rather not arranging anything) received the brunt of the hostility and criticism for a few minutes. The discontent, anger, and dissatisfaction that we felt was certainly not allayed any by the work we were doing. Each of the six rows that each person was working was very heavy with weeds, making for slow, hard work – no difference in what we would earn because we were working by the hour, but there still was dissatisfaction with the grower telling us to take the six at once instead of the normal two rows when there are many weeds.

We continued working, still discussing the issue. Although dissatisfaction, resentment, and anger were being voiced, **there was little thought as to what action could be taken, how the situation might be resolved.**

We returned to the camp about six p.m. and indirectly heard that E_____ had complained to A_____, the crew chief, that we had been slacking off that afternoon. This greatly increased the workers' hard feelings toward him because it struck at a basic fabric – the worker's pride in his labor. This is extremely strong among the Mexican-American migrants. In the evening we gathered together (the five singles plus R_____ V_____ (fortyish, married) and rehashed the whole issue. Special emphasis was placed on how the situation developed – largely due to the incapable handling of the contracting by A_____ – i.e., he received neither a written nor a verbal promise from the grower that he would give us the second weeding. He just assumed, implicitly, that the normal procedure would be followed and answered our later questions on that basis.

During the conversation, feelings became stronger, better expressed, more self-righteous, and – still – with no concrete alternatives considered.

The following day, Saturday, June 19, the entire crew went to work a field in a nearby town. There the solos lagged considerably behind the rest of the crew who were working fast; their laughter and songs could not be avoided. But neither a smile, nor laugh, nor idle gossiping could be heard among those few behind – just the sharp sounds of cursing and arguing, and the pregnant silences between them. At one point we discussed the rate of speed at which people were working (led by A_____). The solos were determined to work slowly, take an excessive amount of time to do a given amount of work. One worker said it like this – "Damn the grower – let him come and find us, his best workers, behind everybody else. Then he'll have grounds for a complaint."

At one point, several of the girls who were ahead of the rest left their rows to help the laggards. This was resented by those behind, and when the two groups met the girls were told that "we don't need any help; we could be out front if we wanted to. Go back to your rows and work real hard for our lousy boss." They attempted to recognize the good intentions of the girls, but this along with a thousand other things was lost in the tremendous communication gap. Division, resentment, anger, misunderstanding were the order of the day, **among the workers themselves.**

Shortly after the encounter with the "helpers," those behind picked up a little speed and drew closer to the main body of workers. The solos ourselves began to separate also – e.g., M_____, feeling much more angry and resentful than J_____ M_____, consequently worked slower. This division or estrangement or separation of workers was felt strongly by a few who were literally wracked with anguish at the situation. The problem was not analyzed or subjected to or seen within any logical framework. It was not seen as a problem to be resolved resulting in one, two, and three, but rather was just plain and simply felt. And it hurt.

As the morning wore on, interchanges among the solos, as well as between them and the others, grew very infrequent. When they occurred they were usually tense, bitter, non-understanding. Feelings were becoming more internalized (possibly felt more strongly?) – but they were still very visible in the faces, faces occasionally lifted to look down long rows of weed-lined beets, faces which in the same moment reflected something entirely different.

In the early afternoon, H_____, brother of E_____, and one of the growers, arrived and announced that he was walking around checking over the rows, far behind us – work we'd completed in the morning. At that time, I was working with two or three solos and a couple of girls somewhat behind the others. Upon his arrival, the girls sped up and urged us to do the same – which, of course, given the situation, produced a slowdown in our pace. The girls out of earshot, the grower was subjected to a good round of hostile cursing. We discussed whether or not we should take our complaints to him and it was decided that it would be better to talk with E_____, who had made the complaint against us and, also, had told us about the second weeding deal. E_____, rather than H_____, "wears the pants" or "is the brains" of the two.

When H_____ passed by us at a relatively safe distance of ten yards, I asked him if E_____ would be home in the evening. He said yes, and wanted to know why we asked. The solos said to tell him that we wanted to discuss a few things with him. Apparently H_____ thought that he was being evaded and persisted in his questions. We then told him about E_____'s complaint and our feelings about it. H_____ hemmed and hawed a bit, and explained away the complaint as not very important, probably arising out of a slight misunderstanding or bad judgement on his brother's part. He agreed that we should discuss the problem with E_____ if we still wanted to. H_____ then began to wax eloquent on their labor-management philosophy which amounted to this: When any worker employed by the Brothers was dissatisfied with any aspect of this total working situation, or

felt that there were problems to be resolved, then he should immediately go to one or both of the brothers to talk things over rather than letting the problem build up and causing more dissatisfaction or resentment. H_____ said this was their policy with all employees: tractor drivers, mechanics, or field labor. Running out of steam, H_____'s lecture fizzled out and apparently had no effect on the hard reality faced by the workers. H_____ seemed to have been cheered a little bit by his eloquence, and asked if there was anything else we'd like to bring up. The fellows said "yes." I asked, "why aren't you going to give us the second hoeing on our piece-rate field?" No sooner were the words out of my mouth than a very uncomfortable look appeared on H_____'s face, and he began to walk away, saying that "hum-hum, we have to talk that over; why don't you pass by the house in the evening?" He said he'd see us later, and walked away too rapidly. A man marked by uncertainty — by fear.

Thirty or forty yards down the field, H_____ stopped to talk with J_____ F_____. The derision and contempt for H_____ gave voice to a few shouts to the effect that he shouldn't talk with women about men's business. He quickly moved on, got in his truck and drove off. Anger, frustration, derision, contempt rose to surface among solos. There was slight communication with a few of the others, just briefly relating what H_____ had to say, and sarcastically describing how he ran off scratching his head when confronted with the big problem.

We finished the rows we were in and a section of short rows, then started back on some long rows at the side of a grove. There we were out of sight of the short section just completed. M_____ H_____ was somewhat behind the others and stopped to look around. When he did so he caught sight of H_____'s truck on the far side of the short section. He traced his steps back a little and saw H_____ talking with the crew chief. He knew well enough what the discussion would be centered on and was furious. He called me back and we stood, removed, watching them for a minute. Then M_____ yelled across the field to the crew chief that H_____ had told us that we would work now and discuss later — if so, then what the hell were they doing. On hearing the shout, both of their heads jerked up. H_____ glanced over at us and almost immediately began walking to his pick-up. M_____ felt that we should go over and crack both their heads a good chop with our hoes.

M_____ and I picked up our rows and continued working, talking, angrily discussing that which had just transpired. After we stopped talking, M_____ fell quite a bit behind. One of the girls with whom he had been spending some time, finished her row and helped M_____ with his. When they met, there was a short exchange between them which seemed to hurt them both in which M_____ told her that he'd prefer that she not help him. That day's weedy rows didn't have the determining voice in whether a person lagged far behind — rather the determining factor was mental anguish and the degree to which it was felt.

About one and one-half to two hours later, M_____ asked if I wanted to leave, that he was going back to the camp. Listening to the tone of his voice and looking at his face, I judged that it would be no escape from what he was feeling and would prefer to continue working than sitting around in that state of mind. I just answered no with a shake of the head and we all continued working until we all finished for the day, about 6:00 p.m. — very little talking.

In the evening we discussed the situation in the trailer. Present were the five solos, R_____ V_____, and three or four other boys. Feelings and discussion were strong, forceful. General feeling of the guys that evening — disgust, helplessness, separation, despair, and some anger. I knew that we had to confront the grower sometime and asked M_____ later in the evening if he wanted to go and received the expected answer — "If you want, let's go." Better to wait, it seemed to me.

Sunday, July 20th, dawned fairly clearly and the mental horizons began to clear somewhat also. The crew wasn't going to work Sunday. There was less despair, but spirits were still pretty low. After washing and waxing the car, there was nothing to do. In the early afternoon we borrowed some money from R_____ V_____ so that we could go "out." We drove to the lakes and spent the afternoon watching the swimmers and skiers there. E_____, the grower, was there and approached us as we walked by. He began talking about the weather, chatting, clearing his throat a lot. He was met with a few very hollow answers and soon turned to return to his charcoal broiler. Walking away, there was a good round of cussing and sarcasm directed towards his generous "non-offer" that we join him to have a bite to eat. We saw his boat trailer and 1969 Buick as we left, and half joked that if he gave us a ride in his motor-boat, we'd forget about the second hoe problem. I mentioned that he ought to be back around dark and that we might go talk with him — met with very strong, "si, vamonos!"

Sunday evening about 9:00 or 9:30, we drove over to E_____'s house — we being M_____ and J_____ H_____, J_____ M_____, L_____ V_____, A_____ V_____ and the crew chief, A_____ T_____ (almost forced to accompany us) and myself.

I explained to the guys before we went that I should mainly translate because if I acted as actual spokesman, the whole issue would be dismissed by the grower as only the problem of a student, a "beard," a rabble-rouser, rather than as a problem felt by the actual workers.

E_____ answered our knock and greeted us, saying that he was watching the T.V. coverage of the astronauts who were, at that moment, bouncing around on the Moon, shining brightly above our heads. He begrudgingly tore himself away from the set and came outside to talk with us. I briefly explained that we'd come to discuss some problems at his brother's invitation, saying that we were told by H_____ that the brothers wanted to discuss all problems with their workers.

To this, E_____ replied by nervously clearing his throat several times, and asked, "Where's A_____, (crew chief)? Didn't he come?" A_____ raised his head a little, and replied that he was present, which information was met by an embarrassed laugh-snort from the grower who hadn't noticed. He was worried that his "yes man," our crew chief, wasn't there to agree with everything he said.

I translated as the guys, principally M_____, brought up the complaint E_____ had made about our work, and their feelings about it. It was immediately evident that E_____ was going to back off on this issue. He was surprised that we had taken it that way, and claimed that it was only a suggestion that **maybe** we were slacking off a little bit. He was quick to agree that the workers shouldn't have to kill themselves, but added that he was afraid that the fastest workers had slowed down to the pace of the slowest. He named me and asked if I might be slowing down the others. This was met by a definite "no" by M_____ and the others without realizing the implications which I explained earlier. J_____ M_____ said that "if he doesn't want to pay us for those hours, tell him to forget it." E_____ weasled a bit more, cleared his throat some, and said that we were all good workers, that he didn't mean to offend anyone. What sincerity!!! It was priceless, in that it didn't cost him one red cent!

During a pregnant silence following this drawn-out

During a pregnant silence following this drawn-out interchange, E—— glanced longingly at his closed screen door, swatted a few mosquitoes, and made a few tentative "termination of conversation" gestures.

We resumed by asking again if he was going to let us do the second hoe in the contract field. We explained that the first hoe had been done under the assumption that we'd be given the second. Also, M——added that he'd asked the crew chief about that at least three different times and that each time he was told "tiene que" —he has to. We wouldn't have taken so much time cleaning bare spots in the rows, etc., if he weren't going to do the follow-up. E—— disagreed with this, saying that if **that** had happened then M——— wouldn't be working for him very long, E—— felt that work is done for the employer according to his (employer's) specifications, and that if an agreement cannot be reached then the worker should go elsewhere. This attitude may be correct and just, superficially—a very definite implication was that the dissatisfied worker would move on and be quickly replaced by another worker **who would** agree to conditions and quite often never complain about them. Of course, this is one of the most basic socio-economic problems of the unorganized migrant farm force. There always seems to be someone a little hungrier, a little less concerned about getting a fair deal, a person willing to sell his sweat and his backache for a few cents less.

Another point should be raised: The grower referred to an "agreement" being reached. In this case, it's fairly obvious that there was no "agreement" or even understanding or communication as to what was required, as to what was expected. Apart from this situation—is the "agreement" to be between the worker and the grower or through the crew leader? Usually it is through the crew leader who is interested, naturally, in looking out for himself. He might be wise, just, fair, etc., and try to obtain a good "deal" for his people; even trying, he might be really ignorant of what twentieth century Americans receive for their work and accept much less. Often times he might be good-intentioned and merely incompetent as far as negotiating working contracts, thus not obtaining what he could for his crew. And there are many crew chiefs, of course, who just don't recognize that getting a good deal for their workers is in their favor (and many times it's not!) or crew chiefs who know that the majority of their workers would rather make a bad deal than fight to improve, so why should they bother.

E—— argued that the field was very clean and that this was a result of this good field management and a result of a good job by the workers in the first hoeing. He told us that he did not want a second weeding done at all—piece rate nor by hours—because the field was just too clean. He informed us that if we wanted to stay until mid-August, he could let us have the second hoe by piece rate. At the time, of course, he knew full well that we were already committed to leave to pick pickles in Michigan at the end of July. This argument of "clean field—no second hoe" is not a rare misfortune for sugar beet workers. Many workers consider the w ages for thinning and those for weeding together: $15.50 plus $10.00. Usually the second hoeing is done over the entire acreage in the last three or four days whereas the first hoe would take five or six weeks. Prohibiting the worker from the second hoeing would cut off 40% of his earnings, but normally less than 10% of the total working time would be the equivalent (rather not **equivalent**, but **corresponding**) reduction.

E——(grower) next told us that we earned very good money on the first hoeing and that as far he he could see we had no claim to a second-hoe piece rate on grounds of "balancing" the wages of the first job. He said, as a generality, that we were making $30.00 or two-acres per day. This was false and was negated by the workers. Only two days of the approximately fourteen days in this field did several of the younger men do the claimed two acres per day. When they did, it was a very long and very killing day for them too. But, as I say, these few men on these few days were the exception, not the rule and would not have been able to do even half of that work if one of the growers had been prowling around looking for weeds and counting the number of plants per hoe-length.

E—— then followed by saying frankly that he never promised us the second weeding and that we never asked. Never asked HIM is right; but his agent, the crew leader, was asked several times! Apparently, he wasn't too comfortable with this statement and quickly, vainly reached for another support for his position. He called the present season a "whole new ball game" because of his new electronic eye beet thinner. By doing this he attempted to disprove the worker's claim of "traditionally" doing the second weeding by piece rate on the same acreage where the first operation was performed by piece rate. He cited his letter to the crew leader who wasn't able to come to beets this year, but sent his family and crew under his young brother-in-law which stated that the brothers had bought the thinner and planned for the labor to work in conjunction with the machine at an hourly rate of pay. Fine. It does appear to be a new ball game, thus invalidating the "traditional". **But** for the fact that the field under question **could not be worked by the new machine**, thus throwing it back to the same, customary, dual hand operation!

Also, apparently to break the workers' "traditional" claim, he recalled an example of three years past when the second weeding was done by hours in one field although it was a piece-rate thinning operation. He didn't go into the details very explicitly. From the workers who were there, I learned that it was an extremely dirty, weedy field at the time of the second hoe because an excessive amount of rain had fallen over a several week period after the thinning operation had been completed. Under these conditions the second operation would have required at least as much work, if not more, than the first hoeing. For this reason, the crew chief arranged for the crew to work by the hour. This case is the only exception that E—— brought up.

With this, an already positioned impasse was reached. There was a strong feeling of tension hanging like a thick fog all around the small group standing there in the dark. E—— made some nervous throat noises, nervously swatted at mosquitoes and finally broke the silence. He then made a few friendly gestures, hoped there were no hard feelings and proffered his hand to M——, who had done a good part of the speaking. M—— stood with his arms crossed, looking grimly to one side, clearly displeased, disgusted with the shabby offer of "friendship" which the grower was presenting to him. The painted smile faded quickly from E—— face, but the hand did not drop. M——glanced at it, and grasped it looking down at the ground.

I looked up at the moon, half- hidden behind some fleecy clouds and thought about the two men walking on the moon at that moment. And I thought about what

had just transpired between men on a sugarbeet farm, and I wanted not to believe the incongruousness of the two. But I **had** to, as do you, because it was, and is, our American reality.

Epilogue

On reaching our labor camp several minutes later, there was a short rehash of what had gone on between ourselves and the growers. Disgust of E——and his half-lies was evidenced with a resigned feeling of having "lost".

At one point in the discussion the two youngest members of the group (fourteen and sixteen years old) showed their complete ignorance, and lack of understanding of the problem. One spoke up saying that we "shouldn't expect something for nothing" and the other agreed with him. This was no surprise for the rest, coming from these two, and they were vehemetly told they didn't know what they were talking about and that it'd be wise for them to keep their mouths shut. Sad evidence of the fact that among the very workers themselves there are a few with no conscience, no sense of justice and injustice who jeer and scorn those who do realize, and even though weakly, try to correct the bad situations.

Monday, the following day, the entire crew returned to the field nearby where we had worked Saturday. We finished up in the afternoon around 5:30 p.m.

Tuesday morning we glimpsed E—— at the camp who talked briefly with J——, came over to the cabin where the five singles live and told us that we, and a recently arrived family, were to go hoe soy beans at a nearby farm. The farmer had asked E—— to send some labor over to help out when he could. J—— told us the pay rate and how to get there and we said okay. As she walked away, I called to her to ask where the rest of the people were going to work. She kept walking.

Several minutes later we drove in M—— car, accompanied by the family's pick-up, to the bean field. I told the other guys that we could talk with the man in the employment office about our problem with E—— and the large field and that he might be able to help out. J——, M—— and I got back into the car to do that and also, to check the number of rows M—— and his brothers had done in the first section of the large field because there was a discrepancy between his number and that which J—— had recorded. We drove to the large field and quickly found out where the rest of the crew went to work! Two days after E—— told us there would not be a second weeding by piece-rate **nor** by hours, he sent the crew down to work the same field by hours. And we also knew exactly why E—— specified that the five solos go work a couple miles away in another farmer's soybeans. He knew very well that we'd never enter that field to work by the hour because it was a crooked deal against the people. We weren't told where the other people would be working because he feared that we might convince them not to do it either. So we were cleverly placed in the dark, thus nicely preventing any action which **might** have been taken on our part.

We quickly resolved the discrepancy on M—— total and were watched closely by the rest of the crew as we counted off and established the position of his section. There was some bitter shouting back and forth over the work they were doing and why it shouldn't be done. Several answered: "We're being paid the same as yesterday where you worked!" The majority, though, seemed to be working with heads somewhat shamefully lowered.

Feeling our anguish, anger, and separation bear down on us, we quickly drove off. We headed for the town, several miles away, to talk with the employment official. Some of the problems concerned with this are:

(1) neither J—— nor M—— speaks more than a few words of English and would never have been able to explain the problem without a translator.

(2) their feeling was that since the other people would continue to work and not complain, our effort and voice would not count.

(3) inexperience in dealing with official or government agencies and the resulting fear and uncertainty on their part.

(4) never having been helped by the "Law" or the government before, and knowing it only through, and as, traffic laws, police, and taxes, they would not have thought of seeking help and doubted they would be helped anyway.

(5) a culturally-based pride in self-dependence and a similar semi-taboo against seeking "outside" help for what are considered to be personal problems is another deterrent to what would be considered by most other American citizens to be a normal recourse if faced with such a problem.

In addition to the above listed problems is the simple but vital one of where to go to find the person or agency. In town I did not know where the employment office was located and we just looked for a sign. When M—— saw a sign saying "Employment Office" on a plant building he turned in there. He, for lack of knowledge, thought any employment office could help us or would listen to the problem. I inquired of a lady inside where we could find the State Office, and she directed us to a small hotel in town. There we found an elderly lady behind the desk sorting mail. Upon inquiry she replied that she was the local clerk of the State Office. I explained briefly that we wished to speak with someone about a labor problem on a nearby farm whereupon she took out her Employment Office folder to try and find when the field representative was scheduled to visit the area. Not finding that, I asked the location and phone number of the main office in that area. This was located about thirty-five miles away. I talked with M—— and J—— to see if they were willing to drive over. M—— and I dropped J—— off at the soybean field and drove to the office to talk with the director, a Mr. T——. He listened quite amiably as we briefly described the situation. He told us that he could not do anything to help us and suggested that I call immediately the American Crystal Sugar Company field man in our area. Mr. T—— gave me the man's name and phone number and offered his phone so that I get in touch right away. The field man, was not home so I outlined the situation for his wife who promised that her husband would stop by at seven that evening.

M—— felt discouraged at this point, even more so than earlier, but still held more hope than I that the field man would correct the problem or at least talk with the grower about resolving the dispute. We talked some about the field man's job, his duties, etc., and considered the fact that the brothers grow quite a large amount of sugar beets and are better "farm managers" —with resultant better beet crops—than any of the other growers we worked for briefly in that area. For these reasons, I felt pessimistic about our chances of actually achieving a resolution of this unfair stand on the part of the grower.

In the evening we were told that the fieldman had arrived while M—— and I were in town, had left, and then came back around twenty minutes later, after we'd arrived. The field man and I, surrounded by five to six of the workers, had a long conversation about the problem. From the beginning it was made clear that the fieldman either could not or would not take the initiative to attempt to correct the situation. The American Crystal Sugar field man impressed me as being intelligent and sincere and a very good analyst of beet-related migrant problems. He explained the rationale for many migrant problems and for our own in particular. Due to his allegiance to his employer, American Crystal Sugar Company, it seems he was unable to use his rational explanations and analyses as a basis for a moral, ethical judgment. Rationally, man's exploitation of weaker men may be explained into eternity with every point having its counterpoint. But morally this exploitation can and must be condemned and corrected without fail if we are to live our American ideals of truth, liberty, and justice.

Approximately three days later we received our checks from the grower brothers for work we had done. Open anger and hostility were not evidenced in our brief contact with him as we signed papers and figured the accounts. The sons only felt pity, digust, and resentment towards him for what he had done, for what he had caused us to go through. Although the grower usually tries to make sure at the end of the season that his best workers will return the next year, he had enough sense not to mention it to us. He would've been laughed at and jeered.

J—— informed me about a month later that her father had received a letter from the brothers thanking him very much for sending his family and crew to their farm. It said that the work done, as always, was excellent and that the season had gone very well, with no problems at all.

J—— and I smiled sadly at each other. Hate is incredible!

PART V

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

LEGAL ADVISORY BOARD

Gary Bellows, Esq.
Western Law Center
UCLA
Los Angeles, California

Edgar Cahn, Esq.
Citizens Advocacy Program

Johnathan B. Chase, Esq.
University of Colorado Law School
Boulder, Colorado

Edward Sparer, Esq.
Yale University Law School
New Haven, Conn.

Joseph Segor, Esq.
So. Florida Migrant Legal Service Program
395 Northwest First Street
Miami, Florida

Pete Tijerina, Esq.
302 International Building
San Antonio, Texas

Mr. Stanley Zimmerman, Esq.
N.Y.U. School of Law
Washington Square South
New York, New York 10003

PARA-PROFESSIONALS

(Colorado Itinerate Tutors)

Edward Klump

Porfirio Garza

Lupe Rivera

Reynaldo De La Cruz

Rene Rivera

Much of the information serving as the base of this report was obtained through the cooperation of the Migrant Research Project's grantees. Their participation is gratefully acknowledged.

LIST OF GRANTEES

Mr. Joel Cooper
Bootheel Agricultural Service, Inc.
Cooperative
Post Office Box 233
Hayti, Missouri

Mr. Porfirio Garza
Citizens in Action Club
Post Office Box 397
Asherton, Texas 78827

Mr. Reynaldo De La Cruz
Colonias Del Valle
Post Office Box 907
San Juan, Texas 78589

Mr. Ralph Rivera
Colorado Migrant Council
665 Grant Street
Boulder, Colorado

Mr. Albert Lee
Community Civic Workers of Immokalee, Inc.
Post Office Box 195
Immolalee, Florida

Mr. McKinley Martin, Project Director
Delta Opportunities Corporation
Post Office Box 478
Sligo Road
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. Tomas Villanueva
Farm Workers Co-op
Post Office Box 655
Toponish, Washington 98948

Mr. Elijah Boone
Glade Citizens Association
132 Southwest Avenue B
Belle Glade, Florida

Mr. Frank Cobb
Grand County Community Action Council
Post Office Box 1136
Ephrata, Washington 98823

Mr. Lauro Garcia
Guadelupe Organization, Inc.
8810 South 56th Street
Guadalupe, Arizona

Mr. Alex Mercure
Home Education Livelihood Program
131 Adams North East
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Mr. Cayetano Santiago, Director
Illinois Migrant Council
1307 South Wabash Street
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. L. H. Anderson
Lowndes County Christian Movement
Post Office Box 205
Haynesville, Alabama 36040

Mrs. Shirley Sandage
Migrant Action Program
Post Office Box 778
Mason City, Iowa

Mr. Clayton S. Mills
Migrant Health Project
Guadalupe House
Elm Acre
Endeavor, Wisconsin 53939

Mr. Walter Brudnowski
Migrant Health Project
Box 310
Wautoma, Wisconsin 54982

Mr. Robert Clark, Director
Mileston Co-op
Post Office Box 184
Lexington, Mississippi

Mr. James Boylson
Monterey County Anti-Poverty
Coordinating Council, Inc.
153 West Gabilon S reet
Salinas, California 93901

Mr. Rudolpho Juarez
Organized Migrants in Community Action
132 Southwest Avenue B
Belle Glade, Florida

Mr. Paul F. Wilson
Polk County Christian Migrant
Ministry Association
1600 West Lake Parker Drive
Lakeland, Florida 33801

List of Grantees (cont'd)

Mrs. Alice Santana
Project Prep
P. O. Box 12
Watsonville, California 95016

Mr. Jorge T. Acevedo
Santa Clara County Economic
Opportunity Commission
40 North Fourth Street
San Jose, California 95112

Mr. John Brown
Southeast Alabama Self-Help Association
Post Office Box 871
Tuskegee, Alabama 36088

Mr. Daniel E. Becnel, Jr.
Southeast Louisiana Self-Help
Housing, Inc.
Post Office Drawer F
Reserve, Louisiana 70084

Mr. Gene Robles
Tri-Cities Latin American Association
624 North Adams
Pasco, Washington

Mr. Jesus Salas
United Migrant Opportunity Service
809 West Greenfield Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204

Mr. Tom Jones
Utah Migrant Council
c/o Center for Study of Social Policy
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

Mr. James Schrift
United Migrants for Opportunity, Inc.
111 South Lansing Street
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48588

Mr. Sam Martinez, Director
Valley Council for Community Action
Post Office Box 1665
Yakima, Washington 98901

Mr. Julian Herrera
United Farm Workers
8603 South Hixie
Erie, Michigan

Mr. Avelardie Debordo
Itinerant Workers
665 Grant Street
Boulder, Colorado

Mr. James Mason
Migrants in Action
Fort Lupton, Colorado

Miss Mary Lanzinger, Director
Catholic Better Community Development
Commission, Inc.
1601 Jefferson Avenue
Toledo, Ohio 43624

Mr. Albert Coleman, Executive Director
Northeast Indiana Migrant Council, Inc.
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46804

Mr. Gary B. Leishman, Administrative Director
No. Utah Community Action Program
179 Main
Logan, Utah 84321